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KĀNGARĪ

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE KANGRA VALLEY
DIALECT OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

SHYAMLAL SHARMA

Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., Dip. Lib. Sc., Ph. D. (Gold Medalist)



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FOREWORD

A dialect normally differs from place to place and from region to region and the variations in speech become more distinct and pronounced when a particular dialect is divided by natural barriers such as valleys, mountains etc. Lack of communication and social contact would, in course of time, further estrange a dialect from its mooring leading to greater linguistic changes and thus making it more and more unintelligible even to the people speaking the same dialect in other regions. This happens, it may be said, sometimes, even among the highly developed languages, in spite of their rich cultural and literary heritage.

The Himalayan region is very rich in dialects providing abundant opportunity for a trained linguist for study and research. In this region there are dialects, some plainly belong to Indo-Aryan family, some to Tibeto-Burman family yet some precariously hang in the ridge of indecision as to their linguistic affinity. These dialects are to be minutely studied and scientifically yet to be investigated. They would reveal thrilling linguistic phenomena, historical and cultural, to the world of scholars of anthropology, sociology and not to speak of linguistics. Enterprising young scholars should take up a survey of this virgin field and make a systematic study of the dialects from region to region.

In the present work, Dr. Shyam Lal Sharma, has made a systematic and exhaustive study of the Kāṅgaṛī dialect as spoken in the region of the Kangra Valley. In order to give the reader the necessary preliminary view of the whole region with its historical and natural background and make it easier for him to understand and appreciate the evolution of an important dialect of this linguistic region, Dr. Shyam Lal Sharma has given in the Introduction a brief but very interesting and informative account of history, topography, climate and social customs and habits of the people living in the area. In the following four chapters he has dealt with Phonology, Morphophonemics, Morphology and Syntax respectively in detail and the appendix given at the end contains the sample texts from Kāṅgaṛī first with

philological English renderings and then a free English translation. The text selected for this purpose is quite interesting not only from linguistic point of view but also from literary and cultural, revealing the rich personality of the Kangra people.

This work, which was a doctoral dissertation is now being published in our newly started Panjab University Indological Series and I am sure the scholars of Indology in general and of Indo-Aryan linguistics in particular would gladly welcome it since it makes valuable contribution to our knowledge of a rare Himalayan dialect belonging to the Indo-Aryan family.

B. R. SHARMA

Director

VVBISIS, Panjab University,

Hoshiarpur,

September 1, 1974

P R E F A C E

In the present set-up of our national life the scientific study of the dialects spoken in India has become a pressing need of the time in order to solve the problems of eradication of illiteracy, development of intercommunication for socio-economic reconstruction and all-round progress of the country. I have had the privilege to choose my native dialect as a matter of convenience because one can only describe the dialect in which one is quite at home and over which one has a working command. Thus I seek to present here a descriptive study of the Kangra Valley dialect belonging to the Central Group of Indo-Aryan languages.

Kāṅgarī is the main dialect of Himachal Pradesh. This is one of the cultural dialects of North-Western Himalayas. This dialect is spoken by about one million persons in the valley and a number of persons coming to some hundreds in the big cities of Northern India like Amritsar, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Chandigarh, Delhi etc. This dialect is popular on the stage and platforms throughout the valley. The folk-songs with the peculiar musical tilt and the narrations with salty expressions are broadcast by All India Radio, Simla. This is the most useful travel dialect as an effective medium of thought and expressions in natural phenomena in the valley. The knowledge of the present dialect is essential for the education of persons who wish to have an open access to the culture of the people in the valley. I have concentrated on the speech of the people of Sujānpur situated on the left bank of the river Beas forming the natural division of Hamirpur and Kangra districts. The natives of these two districts as well as the contiguous areas of Una district accept their mother tongue to be Kāṅgarī.

In a hierarchical system the data have been analysed into the possible patterns in four chapters, namely 1 Phonology, 2 Morpho-phonemics, 3 Morphology and 4 Syntax. The canon of currency does not permit the presentation of the Introduction embracing the social and cultural aspect though given in the Kāṅgarī words in the phonemic transcription. It is, however, hoped that it will be of interest to the readers in quest of the knowledge of words in the language culture.

Presenting the results of the investigation I hope this new field will promise to add greatly to the linguistic knowledge and will help in giving a keen insight and great understanding of many niceties possessed by the strong and sturdy people living in the lap of nature.

It is with pleasure and a feeling of gratitude that I acknowledge my indebtedness to many persons who have contributed directly or indirectly to the present study. Without all this help and collaboration the result would not be what it is.

I am under obligation to K. M. Institute of Hindi Studies and Linguistics, Agra University especially to Dr. Satyendra and Dr. Mata Prasad Gupta, the Directors for giving me the opportunity to carry out the research in the Institute. I record my gratitude to Dr. R. N. Sahai, Dr. U. N. Tiwari, Dr. A. M. Ghatage, Dr. L. M. Khubchandani and other distinguished scholars at the School of Linguistics for their valuable suggestions and appreciative criticism. My thanks are due to Dr. S. M. Katre and Dr. M. A. Mehendale for valuable guidance and facility offered to me during the period of my studies at the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Poona where I finalised the project supported in part by the award of travel grant by the University Grants Commission through K. M. Institute, Agra University. I am grateful to Prof. Raghunandan Shastri, Prof. Gauri Shankar and other scholars in the area for their valuable suggestions.

I owe a great debt to Padmabhūṣaṇa Dr. Siddheshwar Varma for many valuable and bright suggestions imparted in the phonetic drill for long hours at frequent intervals whenever I appealed to his genius for linguistic tactics. The octogenarian savant is always a guiding force to me in the linguistic studies passing instructions with the summaries and notes of the learned works from time to time.

With a deep sense of humility and appreciation I record my thanks to my benevolent teacher Dr. Ashok R. Kelkar who laid out the guide lines and set out the project on its way with everfresh inspirations. I express my warmest gratitude to my supervisor Dr. M. L. Upraithe who helped me on every step. My thanks are due to Dr. Prabodh B. Pandit for the valuable suggestions incorporated in the press copy.

Thanks are due to the authorities of Agra University for accepting the thesis for the degree of Ph.D. in 1967, giving the award of Shri C. B. Agarwala Gold Medal in 1968 and permitting me to publish this work.

I express my sincere gratitude to late Padmabhushana Dr. Āchārya Vishva Bandhu for the interest taken in the publication of this work through his beloved Research Institute.

I am grateful to Dr. B. R. Sharma for his practical advice with unfailing courtesy and kindness to me.

My debt is due to my wife Smt. Shyam K. Dogra who helped me a great deal in the present analysis giving tips for the vocabulary with the mnemonic tactics.

Thanks are due to my friends in the libraries visited by me for providing facilities of study, to my colleagues at VVBISIS especially to Shri Trilochan Singh Bindra for constant help and alertness in the process of editing and proof checking work and to Shri Deva Datta Shastri, Shri K. V. Sarma and Shri S. B. Nair for the interest in seeing the work through the press with responsiveness of the technical devices in printing.

VVBISIS, Panjab University,
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September 20, 1974.

SHYAMLAL

ध्वनिर्वर्णः पदं वाक्यमित्यास्पदचतुष्टयम् ।

यस्याः सूत्रमादिभेदेन वाग्देवीं तामुपास्महे ॥ १. १

पदञ्चैव पदार्थश्च वाक्यं वाक्यार्थ एव च ।

विषयोऽस्याः प्रकरणं प्रबन्धश्चाभिधीयते ॥ २. ४५

भोजदेव—सरस्वतीकण्ठाभरणम् ।

त्रिगर्तवासिनां वाणी सिद्धभावसमन्विता ।

शब्दब्रह्मविनेयेन श्यामलालेन वर्ण्यते ॥

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ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS

Adj.	adjective	N	number
Adv.	adverb	Nom.	nominative
Ag.	agentive	Num.	numeral
Aux.	auxiliary	Obj.	object
C	consonant	Obl.	oblique case
C.	case	P	person
Caus.	causal	perf.	perfect
Compl.	complement	pl.	plural
cont.	contingent	pot.	potential
dur.	durative	pred.	predicator
F	feminine	PP	postposition
Fin.	final	Sub.	substantive
G	gender	Subj.	subject
GI	Grammatical elements	sg.	singular
	Index	V	vowel
imp.	imperative	V.	verb
imperf.	imperfect	V. int.	verb, intransitive
Init.	initial	V. t.	verb, transitive
M	masculine	Voc.	vocative case
Med.	medial		
/ /	phonemic transcription		
[]	phonetic transcription		
{ }	morphemic notation		
~	in alternation with		
φ	absence of a constituent		
>	is represented by progress		
<	is represented by regress		
&	association of two constituents		
' '	gloss of the example which is the approximate translation equivalent of the English expression		
' ()'	usage note (and not translation)		
()	encloses morphophonemic alternations		

Footnote references to the text indicate the author's surname alone. The main entry given in the bibliography pp. 285-88 indicating the page number of this book in parentheses.

Abbreviations used in the vocabulary are given on page 324 of this book.

ERRATA

Attempt has been made to note below the less obvious errors. Most of them are the symbols and marks broken in the process of printing.

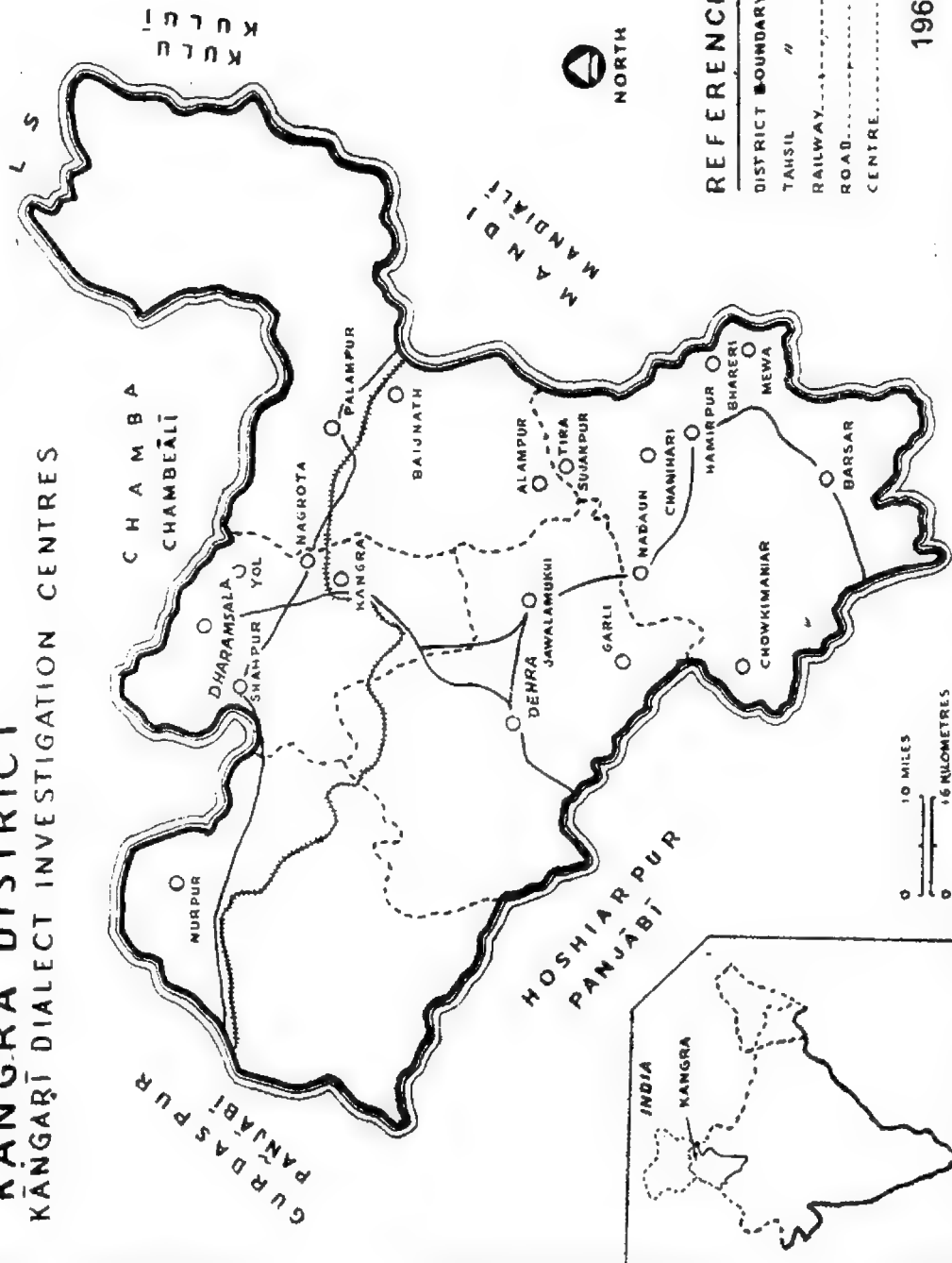
b added to the figure indicates the counting from the bottom of the page.

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Error</i>	<i>Correction</i>
8	10	in	it
19	13	peculiarties	peculiarities
31	7b	/ iā /	/ iā /
32	7	/ /	/ ~ /
38	4b	exemples	examples
56	10	/ mātyār /	/ mātyār /
71	12	shore	snore
81	1b	/ pālka /	/ pālka /
93	2	/ mūra /	/ mūra /
97	Running-head	STRUCTURE	STRUCTURE
100	17	/ grāst /	/ grāst /
101	10	Sunday	Monday
102	3b	bridge	bride
109	2b	/ e /	/ o /
121	7b	<i>Nomials</i>	<i>Nominals</i>
129	1b	Sēbk	Sēbk
130	4b	magacian	magician
145	13	dān	dēn
149	2	-əd	-ed
167	17	bārā	bārā
172	3b	2	3
172	1b	3	2
181	15	alternatian	alternation
197	7	céllea	cállea

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Error</i>	<i>Correction</i>
199	3b	tĩnã	tínã
200	9	hòri	kòri
209	16	gUnnèa	gÚnnea
211	13	tive	/ five
228	12	h-	hē
229	3b	skule	skülle
230	6	Jága	jága
232	16	täppada	ťäppada
238	7	põtthia	põthia
240	2	regulary	regularly
240	6b	mŮḡḡu	mŮḡḡu
249	16	phase	phrase
262	20	s ¹	sé
290	4b	/ /	/ ~ /
307	11	dātyallu	dātyallu
310	9b	pəslāt	pəslāt

KANGRA DISTRICT

KANGARĪ DIALECT INVESTIGATION CENTRES



REFERENCES

DISTRICT BOUNDARY	—
TAHSIL	- - -
RAILWAY	—+—+—+—
ROAD	—+—+—+—
CENTRE	○

0 10 MILES
0 16 KILOMETRES

1966 A.D.

INTRODUCTION

0.1 The object and the scope of the present study

The object. — Kāṅgarī is a New Indo-Aryan dialect spoken in Kangra Valley by about one million persons. The aim of the present study is to bring out the peculiarities existing in this dialect. As a work in the field of linguistics it seeks on the basis of actual data to work out the possibilities and usefulness of reforming dialectology by the application of structural principles enunciated in recent years.

Another incentive for the present work is to make an open access to the study of this dialect which has so far been relatively inaccessible to the researchers in the various fields in linguistics. The absence of written literature is the main reason for this. There is no local script for this dialect. The commercial classes employ /ṭāṅkri/ as their script. For the purpose of general literature, official business, accounts and correspondences Hindi, the *lingua franca*, in Devanāgarī characters has replaced the Persian and English used before independence in 1947. This is a step to establish kinship with the national language in order to uplift the people in all walks of life.

Thus the present study is intended as a source book in which the researcher in the study of languages will find the matter that has contributed the new insights into the nature of the dialect and the new conceptual frame work for the theory of language by recent investigations in linguistics.

The scope. — The variety of the Kāṅgarī dialect to be described here is the one that the writer speaks himself belonging to Sujānpur situated at a distance of twenty-five kilometres towards north from Hamirpur. This should be considered as standard as other variety. The material has been attested by the persons in all walks of the society in the valley. The elements given in the present work are understood and spoken widely in the valley

although the presence of loanwords from Persian and English in the dialect has complicated the analysis but no attempt is made to sift the loanwords from indigenous forms. Any word which occurs in the ordinary conversation is considered to be a part of this dialect and, therefore, a part of the system. The items included in this work are expressive of the existing pronunciation as recorded according to the impressionistic transcription method.

The distribution and arrangement within the flow of speech give a general picture of the dialect with its scope limited to the structure giving phonology, morphophonemics, morphology and syntax. The intonational characteristics which are inherent in the sentences are not described although the patterns of intonation are illustrated with examples in § 1.426.

0.2 Background Information

0.21 Geographical description

0.211 Situation, area and population

The district of Kangra situated in the erstwhile Jullundur division in the state of Punjab in India, was merged with the state of Himachal Pradesh on 1st November, 1966. It lies between latitude 31.24 N and 32.30 N and longitude 75.39 E and 77.4 E.¹

It is bound on the east and south-east by the districts of Kulu, Mandi and Bilaspur, on the south-west by the district of Hoshiarpur and on the north-west by the district of Gurdaspur and on the north by the district of Chamba. The total area is 6614.455 square kilometres with the population 909,593 persons according to the Census Report of 1961.²

The district is divided into four Tahsils. Dehra Gopipur and Nurpur Tahsils lie along the south-western border of the district where it adjoins the plains and the Shiwalik hills. Kangra and Palampur

1. *Punjab District Gazetteers*, vol. XA. Kangra District, 1904, pt. I, p. 1.

2. *Census of India*, 1961 vol XIII, Punjab, pt. II A. General Population Tables, p. 27.

Tahsils form the northern boundary and lie at the foot of the main range of the outer Himalayas.

Hamirpur Tahsil now upgraded to a district on 1st September, 1972 lies at the south-east corner of the Kangra district and is bounded on the north by the Beas river, on the east by the district Mandi, on the south by Bilaspur and the Sutlej river and on the west by Dehra Tahsil and the Hoshiarpur district. The area of this district is 1561.45 square kilometres. The total population is 304,339 being the density of about 170 per square kilometre.

This part of the country is very hilly and broken up by several main ridges running generally from north-west to south-east. Between these higher ridges the undulating low hills are intersected by numerous streams which find their way either into the Beas or the Sutlej rivers. The highest of the main ridges is called, the Solā Singī which rises to 1187.50 metres.

0.212 Mountains

The ridges and vales increase gradually in elevation as they recede from the plains and approach the snowy barrier which forms the northern border. Locally each run of the hills is called /tār/. There are gentle slopes and platforms of table-land in the vales.

0.213 Elevation

The average elevation of the Kangra Valley does not exceed 914.400 metres above sea level. The principal places are like Kangra town 759.562 metres, Nurpur 622.706 metres, Hamirpur 758.952 metres and Sujānpur 590.702 metres experiencing very often the same climate like the plains for most part of the year.

0.214 Climate

The climate of the district is also greatly diversified. It is generally warm and wet.

0.215 Rainfall

As the whole district has hilly terrain it is known for the

heaviest rainfall in the state. In physical fact, the average annual rainfall in the Kangra neared 177.80 cms the variation running from 346.87 cms in Dharamsala to 137.48 cms in Hamirpur,

0.216 Rivers and streams

River Beas. — The description of the valley is incomplete without mentioning of the sacred Vipāt of the ancient description locally known /byāsa/ the principal river of Kangra. As a roaring foaming torrent it rises in the snowy mountains of Kulu and after traversing the district of Mandi it enters upon Kangra district at Sanghol on the eastern frontier. From this point the river pursues south-westerly course and piercing the Jawalamukhi range of hills, descends upon the valley of Nadaun.

The distance the river covers in the Kangra Valley in its course is nearly 210 kilometres and then at Mirthal the playful river flows calm and quite to the plains.

There are ferries at intervals where boats ply with safety all the year round. There is only one bridge at Dehra Gopipur. The bridges of boats are at Nadaun and Sujānpur Tīrā but these are dismantled during the four months of the flood season, June to September. Above and between /pētṭan/ 'the ferries' there are numerous petty crossings where travellers and goods are carried over on /khaṭnāu/ 'inflated skins'. These are launched out in the heaviest floods when a boat would be utterly unmanageable.

The principal tributaries of Beas which enter on the right bank of the river are :

/bīnua/ at Baijnath, /nyŪggā/ opposite Sujānpur, /baṅgāga/ at Kangra, /gāj/ and /cākki/ forming the boundary of the district.

On the left bank /pŪng/ at /plèṭh/, /kUṇá/ at /bāṛa/ and /mān/ at /nādōn/ join the /byāsa/.

In the rains these remain surcharged for days and utterly impassable. The footing once lost is never recovered and the unfortunate traveller is whirled to his fate against the rocks below.

/khād/ the streamlets which run through the whole district

provide sources of irrigation and power for flour milling, rice husking, tea manufacturing etc. As a source of food supply these produce huge quantities of fish.

0.217 Flora

The nature in its bountiful variety and enchanting panorama is found in the Kangra Valley. The district possesses a variety of vegetation in which both tropical and temperate species are represented. The climate of the district derives its character from different elevations of the area, therefore, its flora changes with the climatic conditions of the localities under which the various species grow.

The forests play an important part in the economic life of the people of this district. Nearly 60% to 70% of the total area is covered by forests. /cīl/ 'pine' woods are found in abundance. They provide timber and resin which are exported in large quantities from the district.

The rich luxuriance is attained by the /pĪppā/ 'holy fig tree' and /āmb/ 'mangoes'. /nāl/, /bēnj/, /phāglu/, /māgr/ are the kinds of bamboo. /chānniā/ 'sieves' /chāj/, 'winnowing pans, 'pākkhe' 'fans', /bĪnne/ 'matting', /chŪbbe/ 'grass ropes' and 'rāsīā/ 'strings' and generally all /pānde/ 'vessels', /chābriā/ 'baskets', /tōkru/ 'screens', furniture and other articles are made of bamboo. The workmen in this trade are known as /dūmṇa/ or /bārī/. In the cylinder of /nāl/ a substance, sometimes coagulated, sometimes liquid is discovered. It is known as /bāslocn/. It is highly valued for its cooling and strengthening properties.

There are other useful trees of a great variety : /kēla/ 'plaintain', /nār/ 'pomegranate', /nĪmbu/ 'lime', /cāngōtra/ 'citron', /khāmānni/ 'apricot' and /khōṛ/ 'walnut'.

The other species of flora found in the area are : /sĪmmā/ '*Bombox malabaricum*, a cotton tree', /jəphlōṭṭa/ '*Croton tiglium*', /bĪl/ 'a tree. its fruit. *Aegle marmelos*', /pēṛa/ '*Terminalia balerica*', /hōṛī/ '*Terminalia chebula*' and /āmā/ '*Emblīc myrobalan*'. These are used for medicinal purposes.

Other species for domestic use are : /tōṛ/ '*Dioscorea pentaphylla*', /bāsūtī/ '*Adhatoda vasica*' and /chū/ '*Euphorbia Rogleana*'.

0.218 Fauna

Fauna of the valley is very varied and the higher forest regions abound with the games of all descriptions including /sūr/ 'wildhog', /sēru/ 'hare', /rīcch/ 'bear', /mīrg/ 'panther', /pəgyār/ 'wolf', /kōkkər/ 'barking deer', /bārasīnga/ 'spotted deer', /hīrn/ 'deer' and /khUnd[a/ 'Pine marten'.

The gamebirds include pheasants of different varieties : /kUkkər/ 'red jungle fowl', /tītṭor/ 'partridge', /mərgābbi/ 'wild duck' and /mōr/, /bōddər/ 'peacock (M. and F. respectively)'.

Minerals found in the area are : /lālIk/ 'red earth', /gōlūa/ 'yellow and blue ochre' and /sē/ 'slate'.

0.22 Historical background

There is a legend elucidating the point that connects the incident with the place. It is said that on the spot where the fort stands Jalandhara, the demon king met with his death and his head is said to have fallen on the spot. Hence the fort was named Kānggarh, the fort of the head which became corrupted into Kangra.¹

The description of Jalandhara occurs in the Uttarakhaṇḍa of Padmapurāṇa.²

The following are the well-known names of great historical interest :

Trigarta, Suśarmapura, Katoch, Nagarkot, Bhimkot and Kotkāngarā.

1. Gazetteer of the Kangra District 1883-84, vol. 1, p. 67.

2. विष्णुजलिन्धरं गत्वा तद्देह्यपुटभेदनम् ।
 पातिव्रत्यस्य भङ्गाय वृन्दाशश्चाकरोन्मतिम् ॥

The name Trigarta occurs in various places in Sanskrit literature in the Mahābhārata,¹ Purāṇas² and Rājatarāṅgaṇī of Kalhaṇa.³

Alexander Cunningham gives an interesting account saying, "Since the occupation of the plains by the Muhammadans, the ancient kingdom of Jalandhara has been confined almost entirely to its hill territories which were generally known by the name of Kangra, after its most celebrated fortress. The district is also called Katoch, the meaning of which is unknown and Trigartta, which is the usual Sanskrit name found in the Purāṇas and in the native chronicle of Kashmir."⁴ Eulogising further he says, "The royal family of Jalandhara and Kangra is one of oldest in India and their genealogy from the time of the founder, Suśarmachandra, appears to me to have a much stronger claim to our belief than any one of the long strings of names now shown by the more powerful families of Rajputana."

All the different scions of this house claim to be of Somavamsi descent and they assert that their ancestors held the district of Multan and fought in The Great War on the side of Duryodhana against the five Pandu brothers. After the war they lost their country and retired under the leadership of Suśarmachandra, the Jalandhar Doab where they established themselves and built the stronghold of Kangra.⁵

1. वार्यमाणः स्म बहुशस्त्रैर्गतेन सुशर्मणा ।
तथान्यैः पाथिवश्रेष्ठैर्न व्यतिष्ठन्त संयुगे ॥

महाभारत, भीष्मपर्व ६.१००.८.

2. अतो देशान्प्रवक्ष्यामि पर्वतश्रयिणश्च ये ।
निराहाराः सर्वगाश्च कुपथा अपथास्तथा ॥
कुथप्रावरणाश्चैव ऊर्णादिवः समुद्रगाः ।
त्रिगर्ता मण्डलाश्चैव किराताश्चामरैः सह ॥

मत्स्यपुराण, ११४.५५-५६.

3. गृहाङ्गनमिव क्षोणीं गणयन्वशवर्तिनीम् ।
त्रिगर्तोर्वीं ग्रामसख्ये प्रवरेज्याय यो ददौ ॥
त्रिगर्तेषु दयाशीलं चम्पायां मदमण्डले ।

कल्हण, ३.१००.

कल्हण, ८.१५३१.

4. Cunningham, p. 115.

5. *Ib.* pp. 116-17.

From the period 6th A.D. to 12th A.D. the Rajput dynasties were founded in the hills due to the conditions of the plains where the constant restlessness prevailed on account of the invasions in succession.

The glory that Kangra enjoyed with the fabulous wealth became a fatal attraction for the invaders. This account of the enormous quantity of wealth plundered by the Muhammadan invader, Sultan Mahmud from Kangra is given by the Arab historians, "The treasures and precious jewels accumulated in it had attained such an amount that the backs of camels would not carry in, nor vessels contain it, nor writers' hands record it, nor the imagination of an arithmetician conceive it. The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coins amounted to seventy thousand royal dirhams and the gold and silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred Mans in weight besides wearing apparel and fine clothes of Sûs, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine soft and embroiders."¹

This is suffice to give a general idea of the immense riches of Kangra Valley with a description of the temple of Vajreshvari in Kangra town.

Maharaja Sansārchand (1766-1826) became able to replant the Katoch dynasty of the great antiquity having Suśarman their ancient ancestor. He was the great patron of paintings. The crowds of people of skill and talent, professional soldiers and others were attracted to enjoy repute and joy under his patronage. The most beautiful series of paintings which made a wide appeal to the world are on the Vaishnavism, such as, Paintings of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Bihārī's Satsai and Jayadeva's Gita Govinda in which the picturesque and romantic style achieves a lyrical charm of great serenity and sweetness. Thus the art born and developed in Kangra has left an indelible impression on the artistic trends in the country and the world at large.

The temples and forts all bear a testimony to the glory of the past of these valleys.

1. Elliot and Dowson, vol. II, p. 35; Majumdar, pp. 436-87.

0.221 Places of historical and religious interest

Kangra Valley is rich in antiquarian remains belonging to Brāhmanical and Buddhist religions. There is a number of temples and shrines of Gods and Goddesses, hence these valleys are known as the 'Valleys of Gods'. Numerous ancient Rajput forts on summits of immense crages stand witness to the glory of Kangra.

The centres of pilgrimage attract large crowds of devotees. These mainly consist of historic temples at Jawalamukhi, Kangra and Baijnath.

(i) Jawalamukhi, the temple of flammed-mouthed Goddess is one of the most popular temples in India. It is an extremely busy centre of pilgrimage for pilgrims coming from the furthest corners of India. It is situated at Jawalamukhi 56 kilometres from Dharamsala, the District Headquarters.

(ii) Kangra town overlooking Bāṅgaṅga stream is 18 kilometres from Dharamsala. It is known as Bhim Nagar, Bhimkot, Nagar Kot or Suśarmapur. It is said to be built by the traditional founder of the Katoch family, Raja Suśarmachandra. The temple of Vajreshvari Devī attracts large crowds of devotees in Navarātras in April and September every year. The renowned fort of Kangra remained a target of the invaders in the past. The saying goes on 'He who holds the fort, holds the Kangra.'

(iii) The ancient temple of Pashupatinātha or Vaidyanātha at Baijnath known as Kīragrāma in ancient records is a centre of pilgrimage. It is 68 kilometres from Dharamsala.

(iv) Sujānpur Ṭīrā, once known as the most active and modern town in the Himalayas but now in a sleeping beauty, situated on the Beas 31.50 North and 76.33 East, is 25 kilometres from Hamirpur town. It derives the second part of its name from the Ṭīrā or palace commenced by Abhayachand, the Katoch king of Kangra in 1758 A.D. Ṭīrā has all the trappings of a large compound including a Darbar Hall, a Raṅga Mahal for the queens and a temple of Gaurī-shankara known as Sansārachandreshvara mandir built in 1793 A. D. The King's grandson, Sujānchand founded the town. Raja Tegh Chand's son Maharaja Sansārchand, the great Katoch

ruler completed it and held his court there. A visitor is fascinated at the very first glimpse of it. It has a fine green plain over 514 Kanals locally known as /cəgān/ which is skirted by trees, /pĪppə/ '*Ficus religiosa*' and /bət/ '*Ficus indica*' with /tyāle/ 'masonry platforms' built round them. The palace a highly finished building of royal proportions has fallen into disrepair since the Katoch family took up its residence in Lambagaon. There are five old temples at Sujānpur Tīrā. These are well-known in art of sculptures and paintings. The temple of Narvadeshvara founded by Maharani Prasannī Devī, the wife of Maharaja Sansārchand, in 1823 A.D. is adorned with exquisite miniature and floral designs painted on its walls and ceiling. The temple of Murali-manohar built in 1790 A.D. is also a magnificent work of art.

The Tīrā palaces were the winter residence of Maharaja Sansārchand and the Alampur palaces on the otherside of the river were his summer resort.

The town is divided into different sectors like Brahmapuri where the Brāhmaṇs reside, Mahājanpuri where Vaishyas of the trading class reside, then there are separate sectors for the potters, watermen, boatmen, leatherworkers, and others alround the main /cəgān/ or pologround.

Amtar near Nadaun, Haripur, and Jaisinghpur have the beautiful greens /cəgān/ and a stone pathway known as /kUālu/ connecting the town on its eminence with the bank of river on which it is situated.

At Sujānpur, Nadaun and Jaisinghpur the river /byāsa/ looks serene and graceful with clear water and sandy shores with minipubbles. It is an important fishing centre. The fishing in various deep pools yields sometimes an excellent catch.

0.23 Social setup

0.231 Dwellings

These are in picturesque localities. Built of sun-dried bricks the house has generally two storeys. The materials out of which most of the /chəppər/ the outer roof is made are /khəptēl/ tiles and thatch. Every house has a /lāri/ a green courtyard, a peculiarity in the valley.

It is a small patch of a land within the enclosure of the house, used as a flower and vegetable garden. More precisely it is called /lāru sUāru/. Every house is encircled by a hedge of bamboos, fruit trees and other timber useful for domestic wants. At some places a cluster occurs of five to ten houses.

/kràl/ ~ /kUràl/ on oneside of the cottage is the shed for the cows and bullocks. Firewood and grass are stored in /tālār/ 'loft'. /gór/ or /ōri/ is another building containing the sheep and goats. Every year in Navarātras (September-October) the cottage is replastered inside and outside.

0.232 Cultivation

/cīk/ 'soil' is not so rich. /bárd/ 'cultivable area' of the district is not sufficient to meet the food requirements of the people and as such it has to look to other districts for meeting its needs on this behalf. 'cāl' 'rice' and 'chālli' 'maize' are the most important crops. The Rabi crops are /kāṅk/ 'wheat' and /jō/ 'barley' while the Kharif crops are rice, maize and /māṇḍāl/ 'millets'. The teas grown in Kangra and Palampur Tahsils are plucked all the year round. The fragmented teas are the best when made from the first flushes of April in every year.

0.233 Food

The most important staple food is 'chālli' 'maize' and 'cāl' 'rice'. The cultivator devotes all his energy to this crop. Maize is a very favourite grain and is in constant consumption from October till May. Other crops grown are /kāṅk/ 'wheat', /tmākk/ 'tobacco', /dāl/ 'pulses', /tāl/ 'sesamum', /mōtr/ 'peas' and /rōṅg/ 'beans'. Coarse millets are /māṇḍāl/ and /sōṅk/.

Both vegetable and animal foods are taken in these valleys with some exceptions. There are three meals a day. /datyāllu/ 'bread reserved from the evening repast' is taken with /dēi/ 'curd' or /chā/ 'buttered milk' in the morning. At twelve o'clock full meal consists of /pāt/ 'rice', /rōṭṭi/ 'bread' and /dāl/ 'split pulse'. /sānjyāllu/ 'supper' is according to taste consisting of bread, vegetable with the preparations of /dūd/ 'milk', /dēi/ 'curd' or /chā/ 'buttered milk'.

/tmäkku/ 'tobacco' is in very general use among men. The people abhor intoxicating drinks. Someones drink /sÜra/ 'wine' secretly. They will not openly acknowledge its use.

0.234 Dress

Ordinary clothing is /töppu/ 'skull cap', /cäggu/ ~ /kÜrtu/ 'shirt', /sÜthru/ ~ /pəjamma/ 'trousers', /köt/ 'coat', and /pəttu/ 'blanket'.

Female dress is /dəpətta/ 'mantle', /jəmpər/ ~ /kəmi/ 'shirt', and /sÜtthən/ 'long trousers'. Married women wear /kəgri/ 'skirt' and cast /cünd/ 'veil'.

/səpha/ 'turban' is a sign of respectability and affluence.

0.235 Ornaments

/kante/ 'ear-rings' and /kōkka/ 'small nose-ring' are the ornaments of girls. The married women wear the ornaments: /cək/, /phÜliä/, /səngärpətti/ 'head ornaments', /bəlu/, /nōtth/ 'nose-rings', /kəñthi/ ~ /hār/ 'necklace' /gūtthi/ 'wedding ring', /cūra/, /bāng/ 'bangle', /pəñjēb/ 'anklets' and /chāp/ 'rings in the fingers of feet'.

0.236 Public health

During the rainy season while the temperature is equable there is but little sickness but when the nights begin to be chilly and the effect of dampness is intensified by cold wind from the hills, the whole population is struck down at once. The months of April, September, October and November are known as fever months.

/gállār/ 'goitre' prevails throughout the whole valley but more especially at the base of the higher hills on the north.

/kór/ 'leprosy' prevails to a considerable extent. /hējja/ 'cholera' is an occasional visitant. Medical relief is now amply provided by the government. There are free dispensaries in most of the big villages and Ayurvedic dispensaries in smaller villages. The government has further intensified its measures against goitre, malaria, leprosy and other venereal diseases in the area as these are endemic in the region.

0.237 Education and military tradition

The education consciousness in the valley is on the increase. In the past the illiteracy has been the bane of the progress but after independence in 1947 there is a great change among the people. But still the district is backward in higher education. This is due to the poverty of the people and the military traditions which lead young men to seek carriers in the army. That is why the district Kangra is known as a land of brave. Every hill range has fort ruins, every village has a battle memory and every family a time-honoured ancestor. The district always remained at the top of the list of all districts in the country offering at the altar of Mother India the highest number of its sons with an account of remarkable performance of bravery and dauntless courage.

Particularly Hamirpur is predominantly a military serving area with its fine traditions. It provides the largest number of men for the defence services.

0.238 Transport and communication

The district Kangra claims to have the biggest area of roads in 3,000 kilometres. According to the area the roads are 7 kilometres per 100 square kilometres¹. The smallest length of metalled roads is found in Hamirpur where it is less than 3 kilometres per 100 square kilometres.² The chief mode of transport is the bus. A network of unmetalled roads has been laid down to connect many villages on hill tracts with main towns.

There is only one narrow gauge Railway line of 164 kilometres running from Pathankot to Joginder Nagar where hydro-electric power from the river /U1/ a tributary of river Beas is produced and from where electricity is being supplied to many villages and towns in Himachal Pradesh and Punjab.

Rivers are the cheap transport means. From the jungles the timber is floated down the Beas river and many other small streams to

1. Thakur, p. 15.

2. *Census of India 1961*, vol. XIII, pt. IX *Punjab Census Atlas*, 1966, Map 153 B, p. 331.

the roadside leading stations. The process is known locally as /kàl/. But still the means of communication are of a very limited nature. During the rainy season or bad weather most of the parts of the roads are completely washed away or badly damaged. The active intercourse between different parts of the district comes to be stand still due to the absence of the metalled roads and bridges on the river and streams.

0.24 Culture

It is an interesting experience to catch the glimpses of the life of the people who have been living in the lap of nature since times immemorial. In the course of time they have developed their own distinct ways of living and earning. They have held the tradition high in faith and customs. The innovations in the plains are still unknown in the valley. When the plains were rocked by successive waves of invaders, these hills provided an escape and served as places of retreat. Now as the means of communication have developed the contacts are growing with the plains. The impulses and ideas are being received regularly.

0.241 Appearance

The people of the valley are good looking. Their features are delicate and well-formed.

0.242 Manner and character

They have simple and charming manners. In address they are frank and greet with a broad smile. They are known as an affectionate and gentle race. To speak the truth is the keynote of their character. Lively and good-tempered they are full of fun, fond of fairs and public assemblies. Their songs have a simple cadence. Superstition seems to be their birth-right. They are simple and easily misled. They are distrustful of strangers. They are industrious and dare great things do.

The priestly class commands a great respect in the valley which is covered with a network of shrines. Besides the large temples the shrines of tutelary gods are innumerable as almost every house has its own god to worship in the form of /síd/, /nāg/, /pīr/ and /bāba/. They are worshipped to repel witches and are propitiated for fortune.

The people are generous in their habits. They spend a lavish amount on the religious ceremonies and the dinners locally known as /tām/ given at the time of marriages and other ceremonies. To meet these expenditures someones incur debts because of the limitation of their means.

At wedding feasts or other similar entertainments men of all castes from Brāhmaṇa to Shūdra sit and eat together in one line /pēṇṭh/ arranged according to social status.

The following types of marriages are in vogue :

/tāmpUn/ the bride is given decked with ornaments and other necessities of life to a person of the same caste and status.

The less common marriages are :

(i) /bōṭṭa/ 'exchanged betrothal'. There is a proverb in the valley, /bōṭṭe sātṭe di karmāi lasso gēi byāssō āi/ 'There is an exchanged betrothal Lasso went and Biasso came.'

(ii) /ṭōka/ 'cash payment is made for the bride.'

(iii) /cōjṛāṛa/ 'widow marriage'.

(iv) /rəkhēl/ ~ /rəkhōṛ/ 'kept one'.

Joint family system is the traditional way of life. The father and his children live under one roof and share their earnings.

0.243 Fairs and festivals

The people celebrate the festivals with elaborate and colourful ceremonies. An importance and speciality is attached to each festival celebrated on the particular occasion. Some are religious as /ramlila/ 'Rāmāilā' celebrated at Nadaun in September, /hōli/ 'Holi' at Sujānpur in March and /sībrātri/ 'Shivarātri' at Baijnath in February.

Jawalamukhi and Kangra in the valley are visited every year by thousands of pilgrims. /jātra/ 'pilgrimage' begins from the first of /nōrāṭṭa/ 'Navarātra' in April and September every year.

Most of the festivals commemorate the anniversaries of saints and popular heroes like /dyotsīd/, /bākruppi/, /pikkha sā/, /gūgga/ and /bāba phattu/.

A form of vivacious folk-music loved by the people is /chānjōṭṭi/ sung with gusto.

0.25 Situation of the dialect

In the Kangra Valley the natural division into vales locally spoken /tāt/ is responsible for variation in speech from place to place. There is a common saying, "The dialectal variations occur after every twelve miles." This saying is applicable in a decreasing extension in the valley. There is a definite change in the system and even in vocabulary on account of spatial, social and occupational heterogeneity but still there is a commonhood between the speakers. The idiosyncracies of speech differ from the norm so minutely that the speakers pay no heed to them. Even these escape the notice of the phonetician.

It is possible everywhere in the valley to communicate in plain spoken Hindī. According to the demarcation of linguistic regions in Punjab, the dialect of Kangra is included in Hindī Region. This dialect is spoken with some variations over a large portion of the valley. The form given in the present work is especially that of Sujānpur. In the east we find Maṇḍiālī in Mandi district of Himachal Pradesh and still further east we find Kulūi in the district of Kulu. To the north are Bhaṭeālī and Chameālī both in the district of Chamba of Himachal Pradesh. These are the forms of Western Pahāṛī. The language of Hoshiarpur to the south-west is a form of Pañjābī. The form of Ḍogri is spoken in a portion of Gurdaspur district which lies to the north-west of Kangra.

The Gaddis inhabiting the Kangra district on a part of northern border near Chamba district speak a form of Pahāṛī dialect.

The Kangarī dialect has a relationship with Ḍogri in many forms. The political, social and commercial relations with Pañjābī speaking persons are growing and a large number of words has been adopted from Pañjābī.

Sir George Abraham Grierson has reached the conclusion that the dialect is more closely related to standard Pañjābī than it is to Western Hindī or Hindustānī.¹ But locally this dialect is known

1. *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. IX, pt. I, p. 609 and p. 776.

Pahārī. It has many points of resemblances to Maṇḍiālī and still more closely resembles Bhateālī and Chameālī.¹ According to Padmabhūṣaṇa Dr. Siddheshwar Varma it is a frontier dialect as the vocabulary and pronunciation are Pahārī but in grammar there are some points of convergence with Pañjābī.² He points out as Mālavi is Rājasthānī merging into Bundelī and Gujarātī, such is the case of this dialect which is Pahārī but merging into Pañjābī and Hindī.

Thus the membership and affiliations of the present dialect have been subject to much difference of opinions. There are actual differentiations by the accumulation of distinctive innovations originally confined to this dialect. It may seem somewhat bizzare to posit the dialect area in the valleys where the parallels exist with overall sets of correspondences between related linguistic structures in the diasystems.

The controversy does not form the real part of our subject as it belongs to the domain of other sciences like anthropology.

According to Ferguson and Gumperz, the dialect classification is largely arbitrary, "It might seem to be of relatively little value or even misleading, but in fact the delimitation of dialects is of great importance both within linguistics proper and far extralinguistic fields. In linguistic theory, a dialect may be regarded as the beginning of a linguistic split, as a step in linguistic differentiation. In other words a dialect is a potential new language and the concept is comparable in validity and significance to that of the 'sub-species' or 'variety' of biology. For the extralinguistic importance of the dialect we need only note its obvious relevance to the units of other social sciences such as geographical region, social class, or role". Further they opinion, "A dialect is any set of one or more varieties of a language which share at least one feature or combination of features setting them apart from other varieties of the language and which may appropriately be treated as a unit on linguistic or nonlinguistic grounds. Because of the arbitrariness of this concept, linguists using

1. *Kangra Gazetteer* 1924-25, preface, p. 2.

2. Varma, Siddheshwar, *Kangarē dī bolī*, p. 46.

the term 'dialect' for a particular language generally feel under obligation to explain and justify the criteria used for their classification in that language".¹

0.251 Specialities of Kaṅgaṛī.

A full demonstration of the validity to its being a frontier dialect lies beyond the scope of this work but all the nature of data is an evidence in support of it. The following salient features of this dialect are noteworthy :

- I. The forms ending in /u/ are darling of all speakers :
/cāccu/ 'father's younger brother', /nānnu/ 'mother's father',
/kŪrtu/ 'shirt', and /sŪthnu/ 'trousers'.
- II. The exclusive occurrence of /b/ for /b/ and /v/ :
/bāri/ 'year', /bārkhā/ 'rain', and /bUā/ 'boil (Sub. & V.)'.
- III. The exclusive occurrence of /s/ for /s/ and /ś/ :
/kāsi/ 'Kāśī, place name', /srād/ 'Śraddha, death anniversary',
and /sĪb/ 'Śiva God or a male given name'.
- IV. The occurrence of /l/ :
/gāl/ 'neck', and /sāla/ 'wife's brother'.
- V. The dialect is rich in clusters as illustrated in § 1.4111.
- VI. The formation of agentive and locative case :
 - (a) Agentive : /lārē/ 'by bridegroom', /dēbbē/ 'by Deva'.
 - (b) Locative : /kārē/ 'at home', /hōṭṭē/ 'in shop'.

1. Ferguson & Gumperz, p. 7.

VII. All persons are alike in sg. and pl. of auxiliary verb /hō/ :

sg. mē /tū/ sé	/hē/ 'am, are, is'.
'I /you/ /he/ she	
pl. āsā /tŪsā/ sé	/hān/ 'are'.
'we /you/ they	

VIII. Imperative mode :

polite sg. /kārē/ 'Do', /jāē/ 'Go',
polite pl. /kārneo/ 'Do', /jānneo/ 'Go'.

IX. Durative mode

/sé cālāda hē/ 'He is going',
/b!ṭṭi rōadi thi/ 'The girl was weeping'.

X. Verb

(a) Peculiarity in the verb stems :

/kəcòl/ 'to make water dirty', /gUār/ 'open', /hānd/ 'go on foot', /kŪ!k/ 'struggle', /kŪ!/ 'wrestle, melt' and /nyà!/ 'wait'.

(b) The verb stems formed with the suffix /-er/ :

/təpēr/ 'make hot', /khərēr/ 'make stand'.

XI. Potential formation : *analytico-synthetic characteristic*

These forms occur in free variation :

- (a) analytic form : /kārī hō/ 'be able to do', /cālī hō/ 'be able to go',
 (b) synthetic form : /kārō/ 'be able to do', /cālō/ 'be able to go'.

XII. Discontinuous phrases

Such phrases occur in a spontaneous manner :

- (a) /sé nètṭhi thā géa/ 'He had run away',
 (b) /nètṭhi géa thā sé/,
 (c) /sé thā nètṭhi géa'.

The phrase order is 'nètṭhi géa thā'. Here auxiliary occurs before the verb.

0.3 Sources of data and methods of approach

0.31 List of works existing in the field

I. Gambhir Rai. *The Rhapsodies of Gambhir Rai, the bard of Nurpur*, 1650 A.D., ed. by John Beames, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta) vol. 44, pt. I, 1875 pp. 192-212.

II. Lyall, Sir James Broadwood. *Report of the land revenue settlement of the Kangra district, Punjab...* 1865-72. Lahore, 1874.

Includes : App. 4 Glossary. App. 5 Proverbial sayings.

III. Temple, R. C. *Some Hindu folk songs from the Punjab. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta) vol. 51, pt. I, No. III and IV, 1882, pp. 151-225.

Includes : Grammatical notes.

IV. *Punjab District Gazetteers*, vol. X-A. *Kangra District with maps* 1904.

Includes : Appendix I. Notes on the dialect of the Kangra Valley by the late Edward O' Brien Esq. C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Kangra, revised with additional notes by the Revd. T. Grahame Bailey. Kangra dialect, pp. 1-XI Gaddi songs and Gaddi dialect, pp. XI-XXXVII.

Appendix II. Glossary of words peculiar to the Kangra District and the neighbouring hill tracts, pp. XXXVIII-L.

Reprinted : *Shahpuri Kangri Glossary* ed. by J. Wilson. Department of Language, Punjab, Patiala, 1962.

V. Bailey, T. Grahame. *Languages of northern Himalayas*. London, 1908.

VI. Joshi, Tikaram. *A Dictionary of the Pahari dialects as spoken in the Punjab Himalayas*, ed. by H. A. Rose. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (Calcutta), New series vol. VII, No. 5, May, 1911, pp. 119-275.

- VII. Grierson, Sir George Abraham, (ed.). *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. IX Indo-Aryan family, Central group, part I Specimens of Western Hindi and Pañjābī. Calcutta 1916, Includes : The Kangra Dialect, pp. 776-793.
- VIII. Randhawa, M.S. *Kāṅgarā ke lokagīta*. Delhi, 1956,
- IX. Varma, Siddheshwar. *Ḍogari bolion kā tulanātmaka adhyayana. Bharatiya Sahitya*. K.M. Hindi Vidyāpīṭha, Agra University, Agra, vol. 8, No. 3, 1963, pp. 1-3 and vol. 8, No. 4, 1963 pp. 1-3.
- X. *Kāṅgarī shabdasaṃgraha*. Department of Language, Punjab, Patiala, 1966.
- XI. Varma, Siddheshwar. *Kāṅgarī di bolī. Ālochanā* (Pañjābī). Pañjābī Sahit Akademy, Ludhiana, vol. 2, No. 2, April-June, 1965, pp. 46-47.
- XII. *Sapta Sindhu*. Upabhāṣhā visheshāṅka November-December, 1965 and January, 1966. Department of Language, Punjab, Patiala, 1966.

0.32 Field work : selection of the area

The methods pursued in the investigation of the dialect and arrangement of the material in the present work are in conformity with the practice of other linguistic works on modern languages and dialects.

In order to accumulate a body of suitable data the centres indicated in the map as given in the present work were selected.

0.33 Selection of location and informant

The communities from which informants were chosen were, as a rule, arbitrarily selected. Mostly the author preferred elderly informants who have spent most of their lives in their native villages, because they preserve originality in their speech and steer the interviewer to the data and the understanding which he seeks.

0.34 Author's role as an interviewer

In the field work the author used a pedlar method to go place to place and sometimes door to door to gather the information. He remained patient, tactful and content to speak less and listen more to elicit a good deal of information. Sometimes it did not interest him in order to elicit the items of information that he was seeking but was careful not to waste time. The role was as the participant-observer and the surveyor. This role guaranteed to lead to the requisite collection of the data elicited with the quality of humour and wit.

The very complicated nature of the material investigated added to the difficulty but it also added to interest. Sometimes there was fear and disappointment in the answers of the informants as the suspicion lurked in the minds of the persons not disclosing their identity but on the whole it was a smooth sailing as the interviewer accompanied by his relatives and friends gathered several facts contained in the present work from the various informants in the different parts selected for the purpose in a long and free conversation.

The data were examined by the interviewer's parents, Pandit Jwālā Prasād and Shrimatī Yashodā Devī, relatives and friends who were able to supply useful criticism and suggestions from their special knowledge of the dialect.

During the course of the present survey the author had initial disappointments. Many a times the weather and the roads proved hindrance but still the panorama in the valley attracted, solaced and inspired the author. This project has taken the author over considerable distances from peak to peak for which the mental and physical effort was necessary but the valley with its scenic beauty allured him again and again.

0.35 Acquisition of material

The material on which the present study is based was collected in frequent intervals in the period of field work which extended from June 1961 to January 1966. The data for the present study were derived from the interviews with the informants. The interview with each informant was conducted on the basis of a standard questionnaire of selected words, stories and other expressions in the speech. The

responses were recorded in phonetic transcriptions. There were limitations in the questionnaire but it was employed in a topically organised manner consisting questions to permit free discussion on themes in the course of which the data sought in the phonological, grammatical and lexical process was freely forthcoming. Thus the alternate methods were also employed in the investigation. It was best conducted on the basis of known facts of the dialect with the purpose of locating the borders of known differences such as the presence and absence of known phonemes and other specialities incorporated in the present work.

0.36 The nature of data

Mostly this is in the context of the household duties, religious rites, professions, daily routine and allied functions.

0. 37 Assimilation of the data and presentation

Some of the guiding lines adopted for the planning are :

(i) The data gathered from the informants belonging to various castes, age groups, literate, illiterate and other economic and professional status were classified under different subject headings adopted conveniently according to the thought-content.

(ii) The material attested widely was arranged according to the planned scheme in the form of library catalogue cards and papers. These were filed in the classified and alphabetic order. This was helpful to plan the maintenance and upkeep of the material for ready reference.

(iii) *Selection and presentation*

The wide scope of the work was narrowed down by eliminating the multiplicate and unrelated material. The forms in wide circulation as attested by a majority were recorded in the work. These are described in the following chapters with due regard to the honoured precept of Mallinātha, the famous commentator of Kālidāsa :

इहान्वयमुखेनैव सर्वं व्याख्यायते मया ।
नामूलं लिख्यते किञ्चिन्नानपेक्षितमुच्यते ॥

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1 Inventory of phonemes

1.11 Segments

This dialect has thirty-five segmental phonemes.

1.111 Consonants

There are twenty-three consonantal phonemes :

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retro- flex	Palato- alveolar	Velar
<i>Stops :</i>						
voiceless	p	t		ʈ		k
voiced	b	d		ɖ		g
voiceless aspirates	ph	th		ʈʰ		kʰ
<i>Affricates :</i>						
voiceless					c	
voiced					j	
voiceless aspirate					ch	
<i>Fricative :</i>						
voiceless (groove)			s			
<i>Nasals :</i>						
voiced	m		n	ɳ		
<i>Laterals :</i>						
voiced			l	ɭ		
<i>Trilled :</i>						
voiced				r		
<i>Flapped :</i>						
voiced				ɾ		

Note : /n/ has palato-alveolar and velar allophones too. All palato-alveolar stops are affricates.

1.112 Semivowels (*nonsyllabic vocoids*)

Front unrounded voiced	y
Glottal voiceless	h

1.113 Vowels (*syllabic vocoids*)

	Unrounded		Rounded
	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Lower high	ɪ		ʊ
High mid	e	ə	o
Low mid	ɛ		ɔ
Low		a	

1.12 Suprasegments**1.121 Nasalisation** / ̃ /**1.122 Tones**

/ ˘ / low, / - / mid, / ' / high, / ˊ / atonic (usually unmarked).

1.123 Junctures

/ ˘ / close juncture (usually unmarked),

/ + / open juncture (plus juncture).

1.124 Pitch levels

/ ^{1 2 3 4} / successively low, mid, high and extrahigh.

1.125 Terminals

/ ↘ / falling terminal,

/ ↗ / rising terminal,

/ // / level terminal (usually unmarked).

1.2 Contrasts between comparable phonemes

1.21 Segments

1.211 Consonant contrasts

The contrasts among the consonants and their occurrences in initial, medial and final positions are illustrated by the following minimal or subminimal pairs.

1.2111 Voiceless and voiced stops

/p/ : /b/

/pāk/ 'pus'	:	/bāk/ 'utterance, open (the mouth), (imp. 2nd sg.)',
/cōppi/ 'leaves folded up in the form of a cup'	:	/cōbbi/ 'twenty-four',
/sIp/ 'shell'	:	/sīb/ 'Shiva, a name'.

/t/ : /d/

/tai/ 'father's elder brother's wife'	:	/dai/ 'nurse',
/pItti/ 'pimple'	:	/pIdi/ 'tomtit',
/jāt/ 'caste',	:	/jād/ 'memory'.

/t/ : /d/

/tōr/ 'a tree, <i>Dioscorea pentaphylla</i> '	:	/dōr/ 'cord',
/bātṭa/ 'stone'	:	/bādḍa/ 'great',
/lāt/ 'flame, lord'	:	/lād/ 'affection'.

/k/ : /g/

/kūṇ/ 'corner'	:	/gūṇ/ 'load (Sub.)',
/pUkka/ 'kiss (Sub.)'	:	/pUgga/ 'toss up (in a game (imp. 2nd pl.))',
/jōk/ 'leech'	:	/jōg/ 'yoga, opportunity'.

Voiceless and voiced affricates

/c/ : /j/

/cūri/	'bangle'	:	/jūri/	'broom',
/sēcca/	'true'	:	/sējja/	'right side',
/mēc/	'measurement'	:	/mēj/	'table'.

1.2112 Unaspirated and aspirated

/p/ : /ph/

/pāt/	'thigh'	:	/phāt/	'cut (Sub.)',
/tōppi/	'cap'	:	/tōpphi/	'toffee',
/māp/	'measurement'	:	/māph/	'excused (Adj.)'.

/t/ : /th/

/tān/	'tune'	:	/thān/	'long piece of cloth',
/tātta/	'hot'	:	/thāttha/	'stammering (Adj.)',
/kāt/	'spin (imp. 2nd sg.)'	:	/kātth/	'catechu'.

/t/ : /tʰ/

/tāt/	'mat'	:	/tʰātʰ/	'show (Sub.)',
/pātṭi/	'plank, field, bandage'	:	/pātṭhi/	'young (F.)',
/pĪt/	'beat (imp. 2nd sg.)'	:	/pĪtṭʰ/	'back (especially of body)'.

/c/ : /ch/

/cā/	'tea, desire (Sub.)'	:	/chā/	'buttered curd',
/bēcci/	'baby-girl'	:	/bēcchi/	'calf (F.)',
/pēc/	'digest (imp. 2nd sg.)'	:	/pēcch/	'cut (Sub.)'.

/k/ : /kh/

/kā/	'death'	:	/khā/	'vacancy',
/pāḱka/	'firm'	:	/pāḱkha/	'fan',
/lāk/	'waist'	:	/lākkh/	'ten thousand'.

1.2113 Dentals and retroflexes

/t/ : /ṭ/

/tār/	'wire'	:	/ṭār/	'hole',
/bāṭṭi/	'wick, thirty- two'	:	/bāṭṭi/	'two seer weight',
/bāt/	'way'	:	/bāṭ/	'stone (especially in water-mill), earn in business (imp. 2nd sg.)'.

/th/ : /ṭh/

/thāṭṭha/	'stammerer'	:	/ṭhāṭṭha/	'joke',
/māṭṭha/	'forehead'	:	/māṭṭha/	'slow',
/hāṭṭh/	'hand'	:	/hāṭṭh/	'stamina'.

/d/ : /ḍ/

/dāb/	'pressure'	:	/ḍāb/	'beam',
/gāḍḍi/	'a tribe, shepherd'	:	/gāḍḍi/	'bundle, carrier (espe- cially railways)',
/kUḍ/	'jump (imp. 2nd sg.)'	:	/kUḍ/	'pond'.

/r/ : /ṛ/

/ṛ/ does not occur initially.

/dāru/	'ammunition'	:	/dāṛu/	'a kind of pomegranate',
/mōr/	'peacock'	:	/mōṛ/	'turn (Sub. & V.)'.

/l/ : /ḷ/

/ḷ/ does not occur initially.

/kāli/	'sometimes'	:	/kāḷi/	'haste',
/gāl/	'talk (Sub.)'	:	/gāḷ/	'neck'.

1.212 Semivowel contrasts

/yōl/	'placename' :	/hōl/	'shock (Sub.)',
/yāri/	'friendship' :	/hāri/	'defeat (perf. F. sg.).'

1.213 Vowel contrasts

1.2131 All the vowels except /ə I U/ occur finally in the phonologic word. The following are the contrasts illustrated in monosyllables :

/sī/	'sew (imp. 2nd (sg.))',	/ji/	'(honorific particle)',
/sē/	'shave (Sub.)',	/jē/	'if',
/sé/	'he, she, it',	/jē/	'victory',
/sá/	'breath, merchant',	/jā/	'go (imp. 2nd pl.)',
/sō/	'hundred',	/pó/	'pausha month in Hindu calendar, corresponding to December, fell (imp. 2nd sg.)',
/sō/	'sleep' (Sub. & V.)',	/kō/	'crow',
/sú/	'investigation',	/tū/	'you, (sg.)',
give birth (especially for animals (imp. 2nd sg.))',			

1.2132 The contrasts of vowels occurring medially

/sir/	'fountain head',	/mil/	'mile',
/sēr/	'lion, seer, a weight',	/mēl/	'meet (Sub. & V.)',
/sēr/	'walk (Sub.)',	/mēl/	'dirt',
/sār/	'essence',	/māl/	'wealth',
/cōr/	'width',	/mōl/	'a rivulet in Palampur Tahsíl',
/sōr/	'noise',	/mōr/	'peacock',
/sūr/	'pig',	/mūl/	'root',
/sār/	point in playing of cards',	/māl/	'wrestler',
/sīr/	'head',	/mīl/	'meet (imp. 2nd sg.)',
/sūr/	'tone',	/mūl/	'price',

1.2133 The contrasts of vowels occurring initially

/is/ 'a male given name',	/id/ 'festival of Mohammedans',
/ēl/ 'a plant' <i>Aloe perfoliata</i> (the seed is called /ēldaṇa/),	
/ēs/ 'enjoyment',	/ēn/ 'much',
/as/ 'hope (Sub.)',	/āl/ 'pond',
/ōp/ 'arrival',	/ōl/ 'indifference',
/ōs/ 'dew drop',	/ōm/ 'a male given name',
/ūt/ 'foolish'	/ūr/ 'plantation',
/ēl/ 'surname'	/ēj/ 'today',
/īs/ 'this (Obl. sg.)',	/īl/ 'hawk',
/ūs/ 'that (Obl. sg.)',	/ūn/ 'wool'.

1.2134 The vowels in isolation

/i/ '(emphatic particle in the sense of 'same'))',
/é/ 'this',
/ē/ 'is (in connected speech this form occurs after consonant)',
/ā/ '(interjection expressing surprise, carelessness etc.)',
/ō/ '(vocative particle)',
/ū/ 'death-call'.

1.214 Contrasts between /y/ and /i/

/yā/ 'if'	:	/iā/ 'thus',
/māya/ 'illusion'	:	/māia/ 'old lady (Obl. sg.)'.

1.215 Status of semivowels and vowels

/y/ occurs initially and medially.

/h/ occurs initially as in § 1.212 and § 1.3121.

The vowels occur in all positions except /ə I U/ which do not occur finally.

1.22 Suprasegments contrasts

1.221 Nasalisation

/h̃əssa/ 'a male given name, swan (Voc. sg.)' : /h̃əssā/ 'laugh (cont. 1st sg.)'.

1.222 Tones

1.2221 Monosyllabic contrasts in tones illustrated

/˘/	:	/˙/	:	/ /	:	/ˈ/
/-lǎ/	:	/lǎ/	:	/lā/	:	/lá/
'(adjectival suffix in /əgla/ 'next')',		'land slip',		'attach (imp. 2nd pl.)',	:	'attach (imp. 2nd sg.)',
/-dǎ/	:	/kà/	:	/dā/	:	/dá/
'of, (imperf. M. sg. marker)',		'grass',		'wager',		'cremation',
/-bǎr/	:	/pàr/	:	/bār/	:	/bár/
'day (as in /bÚd̄bar/ 'Wednesday)',		'burden',		'attack (Sub.)',		'outside'.

1.2222 Tones in disyllabic contrast

/ˈˈ/	:	/ˈˈ/	:	/ˈˈ/	:	/ˈˈ/
/cārā/	:	/cārā/	:	/cārā/	:	/cārā/
'fall off, leak (imp. 2nd pl.)'	:	'graze (imp. 2nd pl.)'	:	'ascend (imp. 2nd pl.)'	:	'graze (Caus. imp. 2nd pl.)', imp. 2nd sg.)',
/pālā/	:	/sārā/	:	/sārā/	:	/sārā/
'good', 'points in playing of cards'	:	'points in playing 'custom', of cards'	:	'forget (Caus. imp. 2nd sg. & pl.)'	:	'inn', 'praise (imp. 2nd sg. & pl.)'

1.2223 Tones in trisyllabic contrast

/ˈˈˈ/	:	/ˈˈˈ/	:	/ˈˈˈ/	:	/ˈˈˈ/
/cārādā/	:	/cārādā/	:	/cārādā/	:	/sārādā/
'fall off, leak (dur. M. sg.)'	:	'graze (dur. M. sg.)'	:	'ascend (dur. M. sg.)'	:	'graze (Caus. dur. M. sg.)', 'praise (dur. M. sg.)'

Note: The contrast of tones occurs in the first and second syllable of the phonologic word. The remaining syllables, if any, are always atonic.

1.2224 Tone contrasts illustrated by minimal triplets

/t/	:	/t̄/	:	/t'/
/tír/	:	/t̄ír/	:	/t'ír/
'brave',		'arrow',		'three fold',
/k̄ér/	:	/k̄ér/	:	/kér/
'turn (Sub. & V.)',		'scattter (Sub. & V.)',		'famine. a male given name',
/p̄ar/	:	/p̄ar/	:	/pár/
'burden',		'across',		'comb (imp. 2nd sg.)',
/t̄ór/	:	/t̄ór/	:	/tór/
'shadow',		'a tree, <i>Dioscorea pentaphylla</i> ,',		'show (Sub.)',
/c̄ar/	:	/c̄ar/	:	/cár/
'fall off', leak (imp. 2nd sg.)',		'graze (imp. 2nd sg.)',		'ascend (imp. 2nd sg.)',
/k̄ŭl/	:	/k̄ŭl/	:	/kŭl/
'remains',		'dynasty, total',		'canal',

1.223 Juncture

The following examples illustrate the contrasts between /-/ and /+/

/mar.da/	/mār+dā
'beat (imp. M. sg.)',	'apply wager (imp. 2nd sg.)',

1.224 Pitch contrasts

The contrasts of four pitch levels are illustrated by the following examples :

(a) Contrast between /³/ and /⁴/ with/without negative particle :

/ ² āmbē ³ māt ¹ cūp ✓/	'Do not sip mango (advice)',
/ ² āmbē ⁴ māt ¹ cūp ✓/	'Do not sip mango (forbidence)',
/ ³ āmbē ² cūp ✓/	'Sip mango (nothing else)',
/ ² āmbē ⁴ cūp ✓/	'Sip mango (and don't leave it).'

(b) The question /tē̃ kyā cūppea ʃ/ 'What have you sipped ?'

answers :

I. / ⁸ āmb ¹ ✓/	'Mango',
II. / ³ āmb ¹ ✓/	'Mango (listen what I say)',
III. / ⁴ āmb ¹ ✓/	'Mango (with great annoyance)',
IV. / ⁸ āmb ² ✓/	'Mango (of course, certainly)',
V. / ³ āmb ¹ ʃ/	'Mango ? (do you say it ?)',
VI. / ⁴ āmb ¹ ʃ/	'Mango ! (surprise, 'why do you ask ?)', (contemptuous statement)',

1.225 Contrasts between terminals

/ // / and /✓/

/pālda// mādra// rēṇṭa// / 'preparation of curd, preparation of ghee and grams, preparation of sour..... (let me know more ?)',

/pālda// mādra// rēṇṭa✓/ '(completes the utterance)',

/ // / and /ʃ/

/tū kŪjo nyāḷadi// āmma ʃ/ : 'Whom are you waiting, is it mother ?',

/tū kŪjo nyāḷadiʃāmma// / 'Whom are you waiting ? O mother'.

/ʌ/ and /ɹ/

/t̃ē əj mēta p̃ət kháddaʌ/ : 'You ate too much
cooked rice today',

/t̃ē əj mēta p̃ət kháddaɹ/ 'Did you eat too much
cooked rice today?'

1.23 Contrasts between a phoneme and its absence

1.231 Segments

1.2311 Consonant and its absence

(a) Geminate and the corresponding single consonant :

/sādda/ 'call (Sub. & V.)' : /sāda/ 'always',

/mŪnni/ 'girl' : /mŪni/ 'saint',

/bābba/ 'father's father' : /bāba/ 'ascetic'.

(b) Nasal consonant and its absence :

/mān/ 'respect (Sub.)' : /mā/ 'mother' : /ā/ (interjection
in the sense of surprise)',

/nāl/ 'a kind of
bamboo, rivulet' : /āl/ 'pond',

/án/ 'hailstone' : /á/ 'come (imp, 2nd sg.)',

/mānja/ 'cot' : /māja/ 'enjoyment',

/rōng/ 'bean' : /rōg/ 'illness'.

1.2312 Semivowel and its absence

/h/, /y/ and their absence :

/hōl/ 'shock (Sub.)' : /yōl/ 'place name' : /ōl/
'mix (cooked food) (imp,
2nd sg.)',

/byās/ 'a male given name' : /bās/ 'smell',

/gyāra/ 'eleven' : /gāra/ 'mud used for
mortar'.

1.2313 Vowel and its absence

/tāi/ 'father's elder brother's wife'	:	/tā/ 'heat'.
/pāu/ 'brother'	:	/pà/ 'rate'.
/tāru/ 'swimmer'	:	/tār/ 'wire'.

1.232 Suprasegments**1.2321 Nasalisation and its absence**

/bās/ 'family'	:	/bās/ 'control'.
/kəmā/ 'earn (cont. 1st sg.)'	:	/kəmā/ 'earn (imp. 2nd pl.)'.
/tā/ 'then'	:	/tā/ 'heat'.

1.2322 Tone and its absence

/bār/ 'day'	:	/sōmbar/ 'Monday'.
/dā/ 'wager'	:	/da/ 'of' (adjectival suffix M. sg.)'.

1.2323 Pitch levels and terminals

The following pitch levels occur in the appositive and vocative :

/³kŪnno² ³guà|u² ²phānnea¹✓/ : /²kŪnno²/ / ³guā|u² ²phānnea¹✓/

'The cowherd Kunno was : 'Kunno, the cowherd was
beaten', beaten'.

1.24 Contrasts of permutation**1.241 Permutation between segments**

/mān/ 'respect (Sub.)'	:	/nām/ 'prize'.
/tir/ 'arrow'	:	/rit/ 'custom'.
/nās/ 'nose'	:	/sàn/ 'obligation'.
/kət/ 'less'	:	/tək/ 'root, cover (imp. 2nd sg.)'.

1.242 Permutation between suprasegments

1.2421 Position of / ˊ ˋ /

/h̄əssa/ 'a male given name, swan (Voc. sg.)' : /h̄əssā/ 'laugh (cont. 1st sg.)'.

1.2422 Position of tones

- (a) / ˊ ˋ / : / ˊ ˊ /
- /pəḷā/ 'good' : /p̄əḷā/ 'forget (Caus. imp. 2nd sg. & pl.)',
- /kəṭṛā/ 'pitcher, mould (imp. 2nd pl.)' : /k̄əṭṛā/ 'mould (Caus. imp. 2nd sg. & pl.)'.
- (b) / - ˋ / : / - ˊ /
- /bəḷā/ 'girder, burn (imp. 2nd pl.)' : /b̄əḷā/ 'lighten (imp. 2nd pl.)',
- /səḍā/ 'always' : /s̄əḍā/ 'call (caus. imp. 2nd pl.)',
- (c) / ˊ ˊ / : / ˋ ˋ /
- /jəḡā/ 'place' : /j̄əḡā/ 'rise (Caus. imp. 2nd sg.)',
- /bəṇā/ 'a plant' : /b̄əṇā/ 'prepare (Caus. imp. 2nd sg.)',
- /səṛā/ 'custom' : /s̄əṛā/ 'appreciate (Caus. imp. 2nd sg.)'.

1.2423 Pitch levels and terminals

The contrasts of permutation among four pitch levels are illustrated by the following examples :

- (a) /²tɪni ³trē pyṇḷe sāphe ¹khəridde/ : 'He bought **three** yellow turbans',
- /³tɪni ²trē pyṇḷe sāphe ¹khəridde/ : 'He (not other)',

/²t̪ini trē ³pyūle s̪āphe ¹kharidde/ : 'Yellow (not white or red)',

/²t̪ini trē pyūle ³s̪āphe ¹kharidde/ : 'Turbans (not caps or else)',

/²t̪ini trē pyūle ¹s̪āphe ³kharidde/ 'Bought (but not sold)'.

(b) Permutation between /²/ and /³/

²mējje ³Üppär ¹rākḥ/ : 'Place the table up',

³mējje ²Üppär ¹rākḥ/ 'Place (something) on the table'.

1.3 Phonetics

1.31 Segments

1.311 Phonetics of consonants : a general statement

First we may note certain generalities about some consonants in all their occurrences and in some positions :

- I. The voiceless stops and fricatives are tense and the remaining consonants are lax but when they occur after /I U ə/ they are tense.
- II. Intervocally after 'I U ə' the stops, fricatives, and nasals occur tense hence these are lengthened.
- III. The length of the geminated consonants is usually more than that of the allophonic lengthened consonants :
[s̪ə·da] /s̪āda/ 'always' : [s̪ə·dda] /s̪ādda/ 'call (imp. 2nd pl.)'.
- IV. All consonants before silence have a slight vocalic release.
- V. Voice — partially devoicing.

The devoicing of the voiced consonants occur before silence :

[dab̥] /dāb/ 'beam', [s̪t̪rg̥] /s̪Ürg/ 'heaven'.

- VI. There is the effect of high and low tone in reducing the occlusion :

[jə́ga] /jā́ga/ 'place'.

1.3111 Stops

Bilabial stops.—Labial articulations are bilabial in this dialect. These occur in all positions.

Dental stops are generally postdental as the blade touches the teeth.

[t^h] dental is slightly aspirated in the initial position :

[t^hāu] /tāu/ 'father's elder brother'

[t] elsewhere : [gīta] /gīta/ 'a female given name'.

Velar stops.—The articulation occurs as conditioned by the following vowels :

[k <] 'advanced prevelar before [I i] something like incipient palatalization :

[k < illi] 'killi' 'wardrobe, tipcat', [kh < issa] /khissa/ 'pocket'.

[k >] retracted before [U u] :

[kŪ > ɪ̄] /kŪŋ/ 'who', [kŭ > ɪ̄] /kŭŋ/ 'corner'.

[k] is slightly voiced before other consonants :

[sā̃kda] /sākda/ 'be able (imperf. 3rd sg.)',

[prākṣər] /prākṣər/ 'Parāḡpur, a place name'.

1.3112 Aspirated stops

/ph, th, ṭh, ch, kh/ have been considered as unit phonemes pronounced with a single muscular effort and breath. The stop aspiration is immediately followed by aspiration without any segmental release in between the stop and aspiration in articulation. Aspiration does not occur after voiced consonants within the phonologic word even as a separate phoneme.

[sāk^h] /sāk^h/ 'relation', [sāp^h] /sāp^h/ 'clear',

[sāth^h] /sāth^h/ 'company'.

But the aspiration is rich when occurring with high tone :

[khá] /khá/ 'eat (imp. 2nd sg.)', [phá] /phá/ 'hanging rope'.

1.3113 Affricates

Palato-alveolar.— [ts, ts̥b, dz]¹

The palatal articulations are frontal. According to A. C. Gimson, "Any plosive, whose release stage is performed so slowly that considerable friction occurs approximately at the point where the plosive stop is made may be called 'affricative'. The friction present in an affricate is of shorter duration than that which characterises the fricative proper."²

In gemination the sound begins with the stop articulation and releases into homorganic continuant articulation but the separation of articulatory position is very rapid and the affrication perceptible is very slight.

Finally these phonemes have incipient affrication.

1.3114 Fricative alveolar

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar.

[s>] retracted before [r] : [kə̃s>ri] /kəsri/ 'ill'.

1.3115 Lateral alveolar

/l/ is a voiced lateral alveolar.

[ɫ] dark occurs before a silence :

[laɫ] /laɫ/ 'red', [lɔɫ] /lɔɫ/ 'rebuke' (Sub.).

1.3116 Retroflex

/ɾ/ is a retroflex voiced trill. It occurs fully trilled initially and medially. Finally it is partially devoicing :

[rā<t] /rāt/ 'night', [prā<t] /prāt/ 'shallow large dish of metal', [tār] /tār/ 'wire'.

1. "When sequences of segments constitute single phonemes, a technical phonemic orthography symbolizes them with single symbols." Pike, p. 135.

2. Gimson, p. 166.

/l/ is a voiced retroflex lateral sound :

[kāla] /kāla/ 'black', [lā] /lā/ 'slavia'.

Sporadically in the speech of some persons it occurs initially :

[lāmma] /lāmma/ ~ [əlāmma] /əlāmma/ 'complaint',
(Hindi) *upalambha*.

/ɾ/ is a voiced retroflex flap :

[kòɾa] /kòɾa/ 'horse', [pàɾ] /pàɾ/ 'mountain'.

1.3117 Nasal phonemes

Applying the principle of economy the number of phonemes can be reduced to three. There is threefold contrast hence there is the establishment of three phonemes :

[m]

[m] slightly devoiced finally :

[tmām̥] /tmām/ 'all', [nām̥] /nām/ 'prize'.

[n]

[ŋ] velar, the variant appears before /k g kh/ :

[sŋg] /sŋg/ 'horn', [sāŋkh] /sānkh/ 'conch',

[sūŋk] /sūnkh/ 'breathing heavily'.

[ɲ] palatalized alveolar, the variant occurs before /c ch j/ :

[sēɲca] /sēnca/ 'model, impression', [pāɲchi] /pānchi/ 'bird', [māɲja] /mānja/ 'cot'.

[ɳ] is a forward variety occurring before dental stops :

[ṭānt] /ānt/ 'end (Sub.)', [jānt̪ri] /jānt̪ri/ 'almanac',

[cāṇda] /cānda/ 'subscription'.

[n] alveolar occurs elsewhere :

[nā̃k] /nā̃k/ 'nose', [d̪ina] /d̪ina/ 'a male given name'

[sā̃nsar] /sā̃nsar/ 'world', [sā̃nyas] /sā̃nyas/ 'renunciation'.

/ŋ/

[ŋ] retroflex nasal occurs before retroflex stops :

[kṛ̥ṇṭh] /kṛ̥ṇṭh/ 'voice', [r̥ṇḍ] /r̥ṇḍ/ 'widow'.

[ɾ̥] nasalised retroflex flap occurs elsewhere :

[r̥ṇa] /r̥ṇa/ 'king', [kṛ̥ṇ] /kṛ̥ṇ/ 'corner'.

If the nasal preceded by /I U ə/ occurs final in the syllable it is longer and slightly fortis than the nasal beginning a syllable :

[bṛ̥ṇḍi] /bṛ̥ṇḍi/ 'a female given name' : [bṛ̥ṇḍi] /bṛ̥ṇḍi/ pertaining to a country, [mṛ̥ṇḍa] /mṛ̥ṇḍa/ 'agree (imperf. M. sg.)', [mṛ̥ṇḍa] /mṛ̥ṇḍa/ 'a male given name'.

If the nasal consonant is preceded by a peripheral vowel and followed by a consonant it occurs very short and lax :

[mṛ̥ṇḍa] /mṛ̥ṇḍa/ 'weak', [jṛ̥ṇḍa] /jṛ̥ṇḍa/ 'go (imperf. M. sg.)', [jṛ̥ṇḍu] /jṛ̥ṇḍu/ 'black plum', [kṛ̥ṇḍi] /kṛ̥ṇḍi/ 'earthenpot'.

These are completely unvoiced occurring after low and high tones :

[pṛ̥ṇḍ] /pṛ̥ṇḍ/ 'small change for money', [kṛ̥ṇḍ] /kṛ̥ṇḍ/ 'weevil', [mṛ̥ṇḍ] /mṛ̥ṇḍ/ 'a male given name', [sṛ̥ṇḍ] /sṛ̥ṇḍ/ 'rheum', [sṛ̥ṇḍ] /sṛ̥ṇḍ/ 'obligation', [sṛ̥ṇḍ] /sṛ̥ṇḍ/ 'bull', [tṛ̥ṇḍ] /tṛ̥ṇḍ/ 'feast'.

1.312 Semivowels

1.3121 /h/

It is a voiceless glottal frictionless continuant. It occurs initially in a prevocalic position and is regarded as a strong voiceless onset of the vowel in combination.

1.3122 /y/ semivowel, palatal sound

It occurs as an automatic glide in the sequences of vowels with the combination of /i/ or /e/ : /ie io iu ia ei eo ea ai ae oi oe/¹.

1. Prasad, p. 63-64.

Since the glide is predictable it is not indicated in the phonemic writing.

In certain idiolects /y/ can be replaced by /i/ or /e/. The variants occur as /pyūs/ ~ /piūs/ 'Piyūsh, a given name', /pyāra/ ~ /piāra/ ~ /peāra/ 'dear (M. sg.)'.

Note : [w] is not a phoneme in this dialect. It is merely a feature rounded of the vowel [u].

1.313 Vowels : a general statement

The differences of the vowels are treated here as allophonics :

- I. All vowels are relatively tense when bearing mid tone. Otherwise they are lax.
- II. Tense vowels are longer than lax vowels in general.
- III. These are longer before a voiced consonant than before a voiceless consonant.
- IV. Nasalised vowels are longer and opener as described in § 1.421.
- V. There is a smooth gliding transition between the successive vowels but each vowel receives the equal prominence as described in § 1.4131.
- VI. /y/ occurs as an automatic glide in the sequence of vowels with certain combinations as in § 1.3122.

1.3131 Phonetics of vowels

/i/ high unrounded front vowel

[i[˥]] In open syllable this vowel ranges lower :

[mi[˥]ri] /mīri/ 'starting first in a game'. [dī[˥]na] /dīna/ 'a male given name'.

[iː] occurs with the additional length in a closed syllable. This can be felt to be a forward articulation near the hard palate :

[tīr] /tīr/ 'arrow', [dīːn] /dīn/ 'poor'.

[i] elsewhere :

[iddu] /iddu/ 'a male given name', [is>ro] /isro/ 'a male given name'.

/I/ lax, lower high, unrounded front vowel

[ɪ] slightly centralised in medial position when preceded by a sibilant /s/ :

[sɪjja] /sɪjja/ 'wet'.

[I] elsewhere :

[Iɪ] /Il/ 'hawk', [cɪk] /cɪk/ 'clay'.

/e/ mid unrounded front vowel

[kēs] /kēs/ 'hair', [mēre] /mēre/ 'mine ones',

[ekka] /ekka/ 'unity'.

The glide sound [ʏ] occurs between this vowel and its combinate vowel :

[äʏe] /äʏe/ 'came' (pl.), [kōʏe] /kōʏe/ 'crow (M. Voc. sg.)'.

/ɛ/ low mid, lax and unrounded front vowel :

[ēb] /ēb/ 'vice', [sēr] /sēr/ 'walk (Sub.)'.

[Iɛ] /Iɛ/ 'tune'.

/ə/ lax, high mid unrounded central vowel

[ə] occurs in the syllable bearing the tone :

[ə̄rjə̄r] /ə̄rjə̄r/ 'a male given name', [kə̄rni] /kə̄rni/ 'deed',

[kə̄r] /kə̄r/ 'house'.

[ə] elsewhere :

[bəjög] /bəjög/ 'separation', [səbbə̄r] /səbbə̄r/ 'soap',

[cəlá] /cəlá/ 'move' (Caus. imp. 2nd sg.)'.

/a/ lax, low, unrounded central vowel

[a<] slightly fronted before dental consonants :

[ā<tma] /ātma/ 'soul'.

[a >] slightly backed before velar consonants :

[lā > kka] /lākka/ 'country'.

[a ˘] sounding intermediate in quality between [ɛ] and [a] before [r] :

[gā̃·ŋga ˘ram] /gāngaram/ 'a male given name'.

[a] elsewhere : [mā̃] /mā/ 'mother'.

/ɔ/ low mid, less rounded back vowel

Initially and medially this vowel is a falling diphthong as it begins in the position of [ə] and moves in the direction of [U]. In a very slow speech these two vowels are distinct but in a normal discourse it is a single vowel phoneme as the second element [U] occurs lax hence a monosyllabic.

Finally the rounding is more in the direction of [ɔ] :

[ɔkkha] /ɔkkha/ 'difficult', [pōlla] /pōlla/ 'shoebeating',
[sō] /sō/ 'hundred'.

In the speech of some persons this vowel occurs in free variation with [o] without the change of lexical and grammatical meaning :

[sō] occurs in isolation. When it is compounded with other elements it occurs as in [cā ˘rsodəs] /cārsodəs/ 'four hundred and ten'.

/o/ high mid, rounded back vowel

[ōl] /ōl/ 'sloth', [ōbri] /ōbri/ 'inner room'.

The vowel occurs with considerable lip protrusion and rounding which begins simultaneously with a preceding consonant :

[pō̃] /pōl/ 'hollowness', [gō̃] /gōl/ 'round',

[kō̃] /kō/ 'crow', [lō̃] /lō/ 'light'.

/U/ lax, lower high, rounded back vowel

[Ũ] occurs devoiced before [a] :

[Ũā<n] /Uān/ 'main room', [jŨā<n] /jUān/ 'young',

[sUā<n] /sUān/ 'taunt, obligation'.

[U] elsewhere : [Ūn] /Ūn/ 'wool', [kŪř] /kŪn/ 'who?'.

/u/ high rounded back vowel

[u] farther forward occurs before other vowel :

[gŪrua] /gŪrua/ 'teacher (Voc. sg.)', [gŪruo] /gŪruo/ 'teacher (Voc. pl.)', [gŪrue] /gŪrue/ 'teacher (Obl. sg.)'.

[u] elsewhere :

[ūt] /ūt/ 'camel', [sūt] /sūt/ 'yarn', [tū] /tū/ 'you (sg.)',
[pù] /pù/ 'chaff'.

1.4 Distribution

1.41 Distributional peculiarities of segments

1.411 Consonants : a statement

The consonants occur in all positions except /ɾ ɿ ɳ/ which do not occur initially.

/l/ sporadically occurs initially as described in § 1.3116.

(a) *Nasals distribution*

[ɳ] [n̥] have limited distribution. These are treated as allophones of /n/. These do not occur initially and in gemination as /ɳɳ/, /n̥n̥/.

/ɳ/ does not occur initially. In the speech of some persons it occurs so sporadically :

/ɳúi/ ~ /núi/ 'a place name', /n̥Indra/ ~ /n̥Indra/ 'insomnia',
/ɳát/ ~ /Uɳát/ 'fifty-nine', /n̥unja/ ~ /Uɳunja/ 'forty-nine'.

(b) *Contrasting sets.*

In this dialect it is easy to cite examples of a stop preceded by a homorganic nasal /mb, nt, nt/ but there are many instances of

consonants preceded by non-homorganic nasal consonants. The contrastive nasals¹—homorganic and heterorganic—occur before consonants as follows :

/ṭām̐k/ 'drum', /lām̐kā/ 'bat', /cīm̐ṭa/ 'pair of tongs',
/jāṇḍi/ 'mother', /rāṇ̐k/ 'gaiety', /pāṇ̐t/ 'pandita, learned
man', /kāṇ̐k/ 'wheat', /sāṇ̐k/ 'gesture', /tāṇ̐khā/ 'salary',
/jāṇ̐m/ 'birth', /jāṇ̐bārī/ 'January month'.

1.4111 Consonant clusters : a general statement

A sequence of segments containing no vowel is here stated as a cluster. The clusters described here may be broken by inserting an /ə/ in the speech of some persons adopting certain styles in speaking but such an occurrence in these instances is of extremely low functional load.

The geminated consonants are also called long consonants,² as described in § 2.0. The syllabic division occurs dividing these into two equal halves of their total duration.³

Medial clusters are in fact the sequences of segments belonging to two separate syllables and occur in a phonologic word as the coda of the first syllable and the onset of the second syllable⁴. There is a clear syllabic division between the two consonants. Hence it is preferred to call them as sequences and not clusters.

1. "We cannot say, therefore, that before stops there is only one 'homorganic nasal', or contrastive nasals are neutralised before stops," Pandit, p. 1-8.

2. "In the sequence VCCV where both consonants are the same, there is no auditorily perceptible point of division between the consonants, the consonant articulation is held, so that phonetically there is a long consonant, which is interpreted as, a sequence of consonants. E. G. /chəppən/ 'fifty-six'. /gUssa/ 'anger'. Cardona, p-23.

3. Saksena. p. 73.

4. Hockett, p. 35.

1.41111 Clusters of two consonants

In the running discourse the following consonant clusters occur initially (Init.), medially (Med.) and finally (Fin.) :

Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ pp /	/gāppi/ 'chatterer'	
/ pph /	/jāpphi/ 'embrace (Sub.)'	/cāpph/ 'pounce (Sub. & V.)'
/ pt / /ptōa/ 'sole of shoe'	/səptá/ 'religious week'	/khāpt/ 'consumption'
/ pd /	/jāpda/ 'repeat mantra silently (imperf. M. sg.)'	
/ pṭ / /pṭāri/ 'basket made of bamboo'	/kāpṭi/ 'cunning'	/kāpt/ 'fraud'
/ pc / /pcēcra/ 'naughty'		
/ pk /	/trūpka/ 'hemming'	/tāpk/ 'dropping'
/ pg /	/tāpga/ 'heat (future M. sg.)'	
/ ps / /psinna/ 'sweat'	/bapsi/ 'return (Sub.)'	/tāps/ 'heat (Sub.)'
/ pm /	/ūpma/ 'comparison'	
/ pn / /pnīr/ 'cheese'	/sūpna/ 'dream (Sub.)'	

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ pr /	/prāṇ/ 'life'	/ṛāpri/ 'hut'	
/ pr /	/prās/ 'steam which issues from the heated earth, after the first rains'	/kāpra/ 'cloth'	
/ pṇ /		/āpṇa/ 'self'	
/ pl /	'platha 'sitting on buttocks'	/kāpla/ 'a female given name, cow'	
/ pl /	/ples/ 'coil, (Sub.)'	/tāpla/ 'oversight'	/kāpl/ 'speaking indistinctly'
/ py /	/pyār/ 'affection'		
/ pht /		/dāphtar/ 'office'	/māpht/ 'free of cost'
/ phd /		/dāphda/ 'bury (imperf. M. sg.)'	
/ pht /	/phtik/ 'fatigue'		
/ phj /		/lāphji/ 'wordy'	/lāphj/ 'word'
/ phg /		/dāphga/ 'bury (future M. sg.)'	
/ phr /	/phrāk/ 'frock'	/sāphri/ 'pertaining to journey'	/sāphr/ 'cipher'

Init.		Med.	Fin.
/ phr /		/phēphra/ 'lung'	
/ phn /		/hēphna/ 'to breathe heavily'	
/ phl /		/cīphla/ 'slippery'	
/ phl /		/dēphla/ 'small drum'	/rēphl/ 'rifle'
/ bb /		/gābba/ 'middle'	
/ bt /	/btāli/ 'forty-two, goblin (F.)	/sābta/ 'full'	/sōbt/ 'company'
/ bd /		/cābda/ 'chew (imperf. M.sg.)'	/sābd/ 'sound'
/ bṭ /		/banābṭi/ 'artificial'	/rakabṭ/ 'hindrance'
/ bc /		/kābce/ 'armour, a writing as a charm (M. Obl. sg.)'	/kābc/ 'armour, a writing as a charm'
/ bj /	/bjīri/ 'office of a minister'	/sābji/ 'vegetable'	/nābj/ 'pulse'
/ bk /		/dūbki/ 'dip (Sub.)	/sābk/ 'lesson'
/ bg /		/dābga/ 'bury (future M. sg.)'	
/ bs /	/bsō/ 'rest'	/hābsi/ 'negro'	/hābs/ 'desire (Sub.)'

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ bn /	/bnās/ 'distruction'	/p̃Übna/ 'a female given name'	/hābn/ 'oblation'
/ br /	/brāmma/ 'God Brahman'	/jābra/ 'old (in age)'	/sābr/ 'patience'
/ br̥ /		/rābr̥i/ 'milk dish'	/rābr̥/ 'rubber'
/ bn̥ /		/d̥Übna/ 'to dive'	/rābn̥/ 'a male given name, Rāvaṇa'
/ bl /	/blēd/ 'blade'	/tābla/ 'small tembourine'	/dābl/ 'double'
/ bl̥ /	/blētra/ 'stupid'	/d̥Übl̥a/ 'weak'	
/ by /	/byāsa/ 'a river in Kangra'		
/ tb /	/tbij/ 'amulet'		
/ tt /		/kāt̥ti/ 'thirty-one'	
/ tth /		/kāt̥tha/ 'catechu'	/hāt̥th/ 'hand'
/ td /		/kāt̥da/ 'weave (imprf. M.sg.)'	
/ tk /	/tkājja/ 'demand (Sub.)'	/pāt̥ki/ 'sinner'	/sūt̥k/ 'pollution due to the birth of a child'
/ tg /		/kāt̥ga/ 'weave (future M.sg.)'	

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ ts /		/jōtsi/ 'astrologer'	/jōts/ 'astrology'
/ tm /	/tmōl/ 'present at the time of marriage'	/sātmi/ 'seventh day of lunar fortnight'	/mātm/ 'greatness'
/ tn /		/jātni/ 'diligent'	/rātn/ 'gem'
/ tr /	/trāṅgṛ/ 'leafless branch of a tree'	/gōntri/ 'a festival in the month of Māgha (January)'	/cātr/ 'clever'
/ tr /	/tṛākka/ 'a cracking sound'	/litṛu/ 'louse'	/cŪtṛ/ 'strong'
/ tṇ /		/Itṇa/ 'this much'	
/ tl /	/tlāssi/ 'search (Sub.)'	/tōtla/ 'stammerer'	/bōtl/ 'bottle'
/ tḷ /		/gĪtḷu/ 'tickle (Sub.)'	
/ ty /	/tyūr/ 'a flower'	/hāttya/ 'murder'	
/ thd /		/gŪthda/ 'interlace (imperf. M.sg.)'	
/ thg /		/gŪthga/ 'interlace (future M.sg.)'	
/ thn /		/prāthna/ 'prayer'	

Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ thr /	/pāthri/ 'whet stone'	
/ thṛ /	/gŪthṛi/ 'small bag'	
/ thṇ /	/sŪthṇu/ 'trousers'	
/ th /	/hāth i/ 'a rivulet in Hamirpur'	/Uth pUth / 'topsyturvy'
/ thy / /thyàr/ 'weapon'		
/ db /	/pādbi/ 'rank'	/jādb/ 'a male given name'
/ dd /	/gāddi/ 'throne, a tribe of shepherds'	
/ dk /	/pIdki/ 'tomtit'	/mādk/ 'intoxicating'
/ dg /	/sādgi/ 'simplicity'	
/ ds /	/dUādsi/ 'twelfth day of lunar fortnight'	/kāds/ 'eleventh day of lunar fortnight'
/ dm /	/pādma' 'a female given name'	/pādm/ 'lotus'
/ dn /	/sādna/ 'meditation'	/mādn/ 'a male given name'

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ dr /	/dró a/ 'honey bee'	/ādra/ 'ginger'	/ādr/ 'regard (Sub.)'
/ dṛ /		/gŪdṛu/ 'tattered cloth'	
/ dṛ /		/sāḍṇa/ 'to call'	
/ dl /	/dlās/ 'a place in Kulu'	/bāḍlu/ 'substitute'	/bāḍlkāḍl/ 'exchange, barter'
/ dḷ /	/dḷei/ 'smearing with cow- dung and soil'	/khUndḷa/ 'Pine marten'	
/ dy /	/dyūt/ 'lamp stand'	/bīḍḍya/ 'knowledge'	
/ tp /		/cāṭpāṭi/ 'spicy'	
/ td /		/bāṭḍa/ 'twist (imperf. M.sg.)'	
/ tt /		/bāṭṭa/ 'weight, barter'	
/ tṭh /		/māṭṭha/ 'slow'	/sāṭṭh/ 'sixty'
/ tk /	/tkōlli/ 'a village in Hamirpur'	/pāṭka/ 'scarf'	/mīṭk/ 'wink (Sub. & V.)'
/ tg /		/bāṭga/ 'twist (future M.sg.)'	
/ tn /		/bāṭne/ 'button (M. Obl. sg.)'	/bāṭn/ 'button'

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ tr /	/tṛāṅk/ 'trunk'	/t̥ātri/ 'baldness'	/mōṭr/ 'motor'
/ ṭṛ /		/hāṭri/ 'condiment container'	
/ ṭṇ /		/būṭṇa/ 'unguent'	
/ ṭl /		/āṭli/ 'verandah'	/ōṭl/ 'steady'
/ ty /	/tyāla/ 'masonry platform'	/mōṭyār/ 'young lady'	
/ ṭhd /		/gāṭhda/ 'join (imperf. M.sg.)'	
/ ṭhk /		/bēṭhku/ 'seat'	/bāṭhk/ 'drawing room'
/ ṭhg /		/gāṭhga/ 'join (future M.sg.)'	
/ ṭhr /		/nīṭhri/ 'tarry (perf. F.sg.)'	/nīṭhr/ 'harsh'
/ ṭṛ /		/kōṭṛu/ 'almirah in a wall'	
/ ṭṇ /		/gāṭṇa/ 'to join'	
/ ṭḷ /		/pāṭḷi/ 'a weevil (that eats rice, wheat etc.)'	
/ ṭhy /	/ṭhyōg/ 'a town in Simla'	/ṭhāṭhyar/ 'brazier'	

Init.		Med.	Fin.
/ dd /		/kUdda/ 'leak slightly (imperf. M.sg.)'	
/ dd /		/dɔddi/ 'cry (perf. F.sg.)'	
/ dk /	/dkar/ 'belching'		
/ dg /		/bɔdga/ 'cut (future M.sg.)'	
/ dr /	/drāma/ 'drama'	/dIdra/ 'partially ripe'	
/ dɾ /		/bɔdɾa/ 'elder'	
/ dɳ /		/dɔdɳa/ 'to cry'	
/ dɭ /		/kUɳɭa/ 'a large pot used for kneading flour'	
/ dy /	/dyɔddi/ 'gate'		
/ cp /	/cpɛr/ 'slap (Sub.)'	/bɛcpɛɳ/ 'childhood'	
/ cb /	/cbutra/ 'a village in Hamirpur'		
/ ct /		/bɛctɔ/ 'saving (M.pl.)'	/bɛct/ 'saving'
/ cd /		/rɛcda/ 'create (imperf. M.sg.)'	

Init.		Med.	Fin.
/ ct /		/Ūcṛṇa/ 'to perplex'	/Ūct/ 'perplex (V.)'
/ cc /		/kācca/ 'raw'	
/ cch /		/kāccha/ 'underwear'	/kīcch/ 'something'
/ ck /		/mōcka/ 'coquettish motion in walking'	/lāck/ 'elasticity'
/ cg /		/śācga/ 'sting (future M.sg.)'	
/ cn /		/bācnā/ 'promise (M.Obl pl.)'	/bācn/ 'promise (Sub.)'
/ cr /	/crēli/ 'a vegetable'	/pēcra/ 'naughty'	/kīcṛplcr/ 'useless matter'
/ cṛ /		/khīcṛi/ 'a dish of rice and pulse boiled together'	
/ cṇ /		/bācṇa/ 'to escape'	
/ cl /	/clāk/ 'clever'	/mācla/ 'pretender'	
/ cḷ /	/cḷtṭha/ 'flour of rice'	/mŪcḷa/ 'toothless'	/kŪcḷ/ 'trump (V.)'
/ cy /		/sācyāra/ 'an upright person'	

Init.		Med.		Fin.
/ chp /	/chpākka/ 'splash of water'			
/ cht /		/pachta/ 'repentence'		/ācht/ 'unbroken grain of rice offered in worship'
/ chd /		/pŪchda/ 'ask (imperf. M.sg.)'		
/ chṭ /	/chṭākka/ 'slash'			
/ chm /		/lāchmi/ 'Goddess of fortune'		
/ chr /	/chrūṛu/ 'waterfall'	/chāchra/ 'trimming'		
/ chr̥ /		/bāchri/ 'calf (F.)'		bīchr̥/ 'be separated (V.)'
/ chṇ /		/bīchṇa/ 'to spread'		
/ chl /		/pīchla/ 'latter'		
/ chl̥ /		/Ūchl̥i/ 'jump (perf. F.sg.)'		/Ūchl̥/ 'jump (V.)'
/ chy /	/chyāssi/ 'eighty-six'	/pachyāṛi/ 'back part of a house'		
/ jp /		/rājput/ 'Rajput'		
/ jb /		/bājbi/ 'ordinary'		/gājbi/ 'wonderful'

Init.		Med.	Fin.
/jt/		/mājti/ 'helper'	/māj̥t/ 'help' (Sub.)'
/jd/		/rāj̥da/ 'satisfy (imperf. M.sg.)'	
/jc/	/jca/ 'blister in mouth'		
/jk/		/bUjka/ 'bundle'	/cɭjk/ 'hesitation'
/jg/		/sāj̥ga/ 'decorate (future M.sg.)'	
/js/		/rājsi/ 'royal'	/sājs/ 'conspiracy'
/jm/	/jm̥n/ 'land'	/nɪjmi/ 'disciplinarian'	/hāj̥m/ 'digestion'
/jn/		/sāj̥ni/ 'friend (F.)'	/bāj̥n/ 'weight (Sub.)'
/jr/	/jris/ 'milk preparation by boiling'	/bāj̥ri/ 'hail (Sub.)'	/nāj̥r/ 'glance (Sub.)'
/jɾ/		/bɪj̥ɾ/ 'a village name in Hamirpur'	
/jn/		/gāj̥ni/ 'yellow clay used for plastering a wooden slate'	
/jɭ/		/gāj̥li/ 'sensation of chocking, itching'	
/jy/	/jyātti/ 'excess'		

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ kp /	/kpá/ 'cotton plant'	/bālkpən/ 'childhood'	
/ kb /		/ākbər/ 'a male given name'	
/ kt /	/ktāli/ 'forty-one'	/nŪkta/ 'point'	
/ kd /		/nōkdar/ 'pointed one'	
/ kṭ /	/kṭār/ 'a name of a hill in Shiwaliks'	/ḍaktər/ 'doctor'	/mŪkṭ/ 'crown'
/ kc /	/kcālu/ 'a root, <i>Arum</i> <i>colocasia</i> '		
/ kj /	/kjāi/ 'quarrelsome'		
/ kk /		/nīkka/ 'young'	
/ kkh /		/rŪkkha/ 'insipid, harsh'	/rŪkkh/ 'tree'
/ kg /		/rŪkga/ 'stop (future M.sg.)'	
/ ks /	/ksidda/ 'embroidery'		
/ km /		/cākma/ 'deceit'	/rākm/ 'amount of money'
/ kr /	/krōnk/ 'watchman'	/chōkru/ 'chap'	/jīkr/ 'description'

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ kɾ /	/kɾāk/ 'cracking sound'	/lŪkɾi/ 'singing girl'	/ɕŪkɾ/ 'piece'
/ kɸ /		/rŪkɸa/ 'to stop'	
/ kl /	/klāl/ 'one who distils and sells spirituous liquors'	/nākli' 'false'	/sāk/ 'appearance'
/ kɭ /	/kɭó/ 'a village in Dehra Tahsil'	/ɛnkɭu/ 'rice bread'	
/ ky /	/kyāri/ 'neck'	/pəkyāi/ 'durability'	
/ kht /		/tākhta/ 'plank'	/tākht/ 'throne'
/ khɖ /		/dŪkhɖa/ 'pain (imperf. M.sg.)'	
/ kht /		/cōkhtu/ 'frame (diminutive)'	/cōkht/ 'frame'
/ kbg /		/sŪkhga/ 'dedicate (future M.sg.)'	
/ khm /	/khmār/ 'heat'	/jākhami/ 'wounded'	/jākham/ 'wound'
/ khr /	/khrāk/ 'diet, dose of medicine'	/nākhra/ 'waggery'	/sɪkhr/ 'peak'
/ khɾ /	/khrākka/ 'crashing sound'	/rākhrɪ/ 'sacred thread (Hindi) <i>rākhi</i> '	/rŪkhr/ 'harsh'

Init.		Med.	Fin.
/ khṇ /		/lākṇṇōtri/ 'marriage programme'	/līkṇṇ/ 'writing'
/ khl /		/pākḥla/ 'stranger'	/dākhl/ 'interference,
/ khl /		/jākḥlu/ 'tutelary god'	
/ khy /	/khyal/ 'thought'	/bākhyān/ 'description'	
/ gt /	/gtóllu/ 'pit'	/sāgti/ 'power'	/bāgt/ 'time'
/ gd /		/nāgdi/ 'cash (Sub.)'	/nāgd/ 'cashed' (Adj.)'
/ gt /	/gtak/ 'gurgling sound'	/bīgti/ 'irritate (perf. F.sg.)'	/bīgt/ 'irritate (imp. 2nd. sg.)'
/ gc /		/dēgi/ 'caldron'	
/ gj /		/kagji/ 'pertaining to paper'	/māgj/ 'brain marrow'
/ gg /		/gŪgga/ 'a deity'	
/ gs /		/bāgsi/ 'pay master'	/nŪgs/ 'defect'
/ gm /	/gmàn/ 'pride'	/pāgmi/ 'reddish yellow'	/bēgm/ 'queen'

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ gn /		/jUgnu/ 'firefly'	/lāgn/ 'auspicious moment in a marriage'
/ gr /	/grā/ 'village'	/kəgri/ 'skirt'	/māgr/ 'bamboo, <i>Bambusa</i> , <i>arundinacea</i> , behind'
/ gr /	/grāk/ 'thunder'	/lUgri/ 'gruel'	/rāgr/ 'rubbing'
/ gn /		/dəgna/ 'to burn'	/sāgn/ 'omen, betrothal gift'
/ gl /	/glōr/ 'a village in Hamirpur'	/āgla/ 'next'	/pagl/ 'mad'
/ gl /	/glō/ 'a bitter creeper, <i>Cocculus cordifolius</i> '	/ṅgli/ 'finger'	/nlg/ 'swallow (imp. 2nd sg.)'
/ gy /	/gyāra/ 'eleven'	/bəgyān/ 'a male given name'	
/ sp /	/spāri/ 'betel nut'	/pŪspa/ 'a female given name'	/pŪsp/ 'flower'
/ sph /	/sphāni/ 'liquor made from anis seed'		
/ sb /	/sbāb/ 'belongings'	/kāsba/ 'small town'	/kēs/ 'a male given name'

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ st /	/stāgla/ 'a bad omen'	/ṣsti/ 'a Brāhmana caste, (Hindi) <i>avasthi</i> '	/sist/ 'target'
/ sth /	/sthān/ 'place'	/prāsthān/ 'omenological material despatched before journey'	
/ sd /		/bāṣḍi/ 'inhabitated place'	
/ st /	/ṣṭām/ 'stamp'	/kṣṭḍr/ 'thief in a family'	/kṣṣṭ/ 'pain'
/ sth /		/ṇsthān/ 'a religious ceremony with a fixed aim'	
/ sc /		/krīṣcān/ 'Christian'	
/ sk /	/skó/ 'a village in Palam- pur'	/cāska/ 'addiction'	/tāsk/ 'plate'
/ skh /		/khāskhās/ 'poppy seed'	
/ sg /	/sgōt/ 'cake made from fine wheaten flour'	/bāsga/ 'reside (future M.sg.)'	
/ ss /		/hāssa/ 'laughter'	
/ sm /	/smūt/ 'auspicious time in a marriage'	/pāsminna/ 'soft fine wool'	/khāsm/ 'husband'

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ sn /	/snéa/ 'message'	/rōsni/ 'light'	/rōsn/ 'a male given name'
/ sr /	/srōtri/ 'a Brāhmaṇa caste'	/sŪsri/ 'a weevil that eats rice etc.'	/kāsri/ 'deficiency'
/ sr /	/srén/ 'bad smell'	/tūsra/ 'glut'	/kŪsr/ 'enter forcibly (imp. 2nd sg.)'
/ sn /	/snā/ 'cotton'	/sāsnu/ 'rent free gift to an individual'	
/ sl /	/sló/ 'a village in Palam- pur'	/tāsla/ 'copper or brass basin'	/phēsl/ 'crop'
/ sl /	/slai/ 'needle'	/pəslət/ 'mutter in sleep (Sub.)'	/phīsl/ 'slip (imp. 2nd sg.)'
/ sy /	/syāl/ 'winter'	/təpāssya/ 'penance'	
/ mp /		/cāmpa/ 'a female given name'	/kēmp/ 'camp'
/ mph /		/lāmphe/ 'lamp (Obl. sg.)'	/lāmph/ 'lamp'
/ mb /		/jāmba/ 'dumb'	/lāmb/ 'wisp of grass'
/ mt /	/mtēi/ 'step mother'	/kīmti/ 'valuable'	/kīmt/ 'price'

Init.		Med.	Fin.
/ md /		/Ūmda/ 'nice'	/khəsāmd/ 'flattery'
/ mṭ /	/mṭōr/ 'a village in Kangra'	/cImṭa/ 'pair of tongs'	/drŪmṭ/ 'pebble crusher'
/ mc /		/cImca/ 'spoon'	
/ mj /		/səmjà/ 'understand (Caus. imp. 2nd. sg.)'	/sāmj/ 'intelligence'
/ mk /	/mkān/ 'mourning'	/lōmká/ 'bat'	/chImk/ 'cane'
/ mg /		/jāmga/ 'bear (future M.sg.)'	
/ ms /	/msés/ 'sister of spouse's mother'	/səmsān/ 'crematorium'	/tāms/ 'heat'
/ mm /		/lāmma/ 'long'	
/ mn /	/mnēi/ 'a ceremony before marriage'	/jāmna/ 'a female given name'	/āmnn/ 'peace'
/ mr /	/mríkka/ 'America'	/kāmri/ 'jacket'	/kāmṛ/ 'waist'
/ mṛ /		/cāmṛa/ 'leather'	/cImṛ/ 'cling (imp. 2nd sg.)'
/ mṛ /		/jāmpu/ 'Cerasus cornuta'	/rádarāmn/ 'a male given name'

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ ml /	/mlār/ 'ardent desire'	/sīmla/ 'capital of Himachal Pradesh'	/kām/ 'lotus'
/ mī /	/mīāi/ 'cream of boiled milk or curd'	/sīmīa/ 'one whose nose runs'	
/ my /	/myāī/ 'burning wood'	/darmyānna/ 'middle one'	
/ np /		/ənpān/ 'anything taken with a medicine'	
/ nph /		/kānpḥaṭa/ 'a man who has split ear'	
/ nt /		/jāntri/ 'almanac'	/sānt/ 'saint'
/ nth /		/pānthi/ 'religionist'	/grānth/ 'sacred book'
/ nd /		/mānda/ 'weak'	/kānd/ 'wall'
/ nc /		/sēnca/ 'model'	/pānc/ 'arbitrator'
/ nch /		/pānchi/ 'bird'	/pŪnch/ 'a village in Kashmir valley'
/ nj /		/mānja/ 'cot'	/chInj/ 'wrestling'

Init.		Med.	Fin.
/ nk /		/mĩnki/ 'frog (F.)'	/sənk/ 'gesture'
/ nkʰ /		/tənkʰá/ 'salary'	/sənkʰ/ 'conch'
/ ng /		/māngu/ 'beggar, a given name'	/sĩng/ 'horn'
/ ns /		/mānsa/ 'wish'	
/ nm /		/jənmāstmi/ 'birth day of God Krishna'	/jənm/ 'birth'
/ nn /		/gŪnna/ 'speaking through the nose'	
/ nr /	/nr̥t̪/ 'coconut'	/hŪnri/ 'joker'	
/ nɾ /		/sĩnɾi/ 'lazy'	
/ nŋ /		/mānŋa/ 'to agree'	
/ nl /		/bŪnla/ 'belonging to downside'	
/ ny /	/nyūdər/ 'invitation'	/sənyār/ 'goldsmith'	
/ rp /		/kĩrpa/ 'favour'	/sərp/ 'snake'
/ rph /		/bārphi/ 'a sweetmeat'	/bārph/ 'snow'

Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ rb /	/pārbat/ 'mountain'	/pārb/ 'religious festival'
/ rt /	/ārti/ 'worship by waving lights before an image'	/bārt/ 'fast'
/ rth /	/lārthi/ 'lying in woman'	/tirth/ 'pilgrimage'
/ rd /	/bārdi/ 'uniform'	/dārd/ 'pain'
/ rṭ /	/cōrṭa/ 'thief'	/kāṛṭ/ 'card'
/ rth /	/bīrthi/ 'irritate (perf. F.sg.)'	/bīrth/ 'irritate (imp. 2nd sg.)'
/ rc /	/cārca/ 'discussion'	/mīrc/ 'pepper'
/ rch /	/bārchi/ 'spear'	/bīrch/ 'tree'
/ rj /	/dārji/ 'tailor'	/cārj/ 'surprise (Sub.)'
/ rk /	/sīrka/ 'vinegar'	/khūrka/ 'itch'
/ rkh /	/bārkhā/ 'rain'	/nīrkh/ 'judgement'
/ rg /	/mīrgi/ 'epilepsy'	/sūrgh/ 'heaven'

	Init.	Med.	Fin.
/rs/	/rsō/ 'preparation of meals'	/kŪrsi/ 'chair'	/tārs/ 'pity'
/rm/		/sūrma/ 'brave'	/sārm/ 'shame'
/rn/		/cārna/ 'window'	/tārṇ/ 'quantity of anything weighed at once'
/rṛ/		/kŪrri/ 'shore (Sub.)'	/bārri/ 'a caste name'
/rl/		/pārḷa/ 'pertaining to other side'	/bārḷ/ 'crossbeam'
/ry/	/ryat/ 'concession'	/dāryāi/ 'pertaining to a river'	
/rp/		/khārpa/ 'cobra'	/cārṇp/ 'quarrel (Sub.)'
/rph/		/tārphi/ 'long (perf. F.sg.)'	/tārph/ 'long (Sub. and V.)'
/rb/		/gārbi/ 'small jug'	/ārḇ/ 'obstinacy'
/rt/		/ārṭi/ 'broker'	/cārṭ/ 'offering to a god'
/rth/		/pārṭha/ 'preparation of brinjal made by roasting in hot ashes'	

Init.	Med.	Fin.
/rd/	/pərda/ 'screen'	
/rc/	/pərcō/ 'investigation'	
/rch/	/kərchi/ 'big spoon'	/bārch/ 'fence (Sub.)'
/rk/	/tərka/ 'dawn'	/sīrk/ 'husk'
/rkh/	/lərkhar/ 'stagger (Sub.)'	
/rg/	/pərga/ 'read (future M.sg.)'	/khārg/ 'sword'
/rs/	/cārsī/ 'smoker of <i>cannabes</i> <i>Indica</i> '	/cārs/ ' <i>cannabes</i> <i>Indica</i> '
/rm/	/kərmāi/ 'betrothal'	/kŪrm/ 'relative (by marriage)'
/rn/	/bārnu/ 'fence'	/dārn/ 'pomegra- nate tree'
/rl/	/lārli/ 'dear (F.)'	
/ry/	/pōrya/ 'first day of lunar fortnight'	
/rp/	/syānpa/ 'pertaining to old age'	/syānp/ 'old age'
/nb/	/ānbən/ 'discord (Sub.)'	

Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ nt /	/gInti/ 'calculation'	/mInt/ 'entreaty'
/ nd /	/jāndi/ 'mother'	
/ nt /	/bānta/ 'a caste, <i>Vaishya</i> '	/cānt/ 'clever'
/ nth /	/kānta/ 'necklace'	/pēnth/ 'line in a feast'
/ nd /	/kāṇḍa/ 'thorn'	/kUṇḍ/ 'sistern'
/ nc /	/cāṇcāk/ 'suddenly'	
/ nch /	/pāṇchēṇ/ 'recognition'	
/ nj /	/pāṇja/ 'sister's son'	/bāṇj/ 'business'
/ nk /	/māṇka/ 'bead'	/kāṇk/ 'wheat'
/ ng /	/cāṇgāri/ 'spark'	/cIng/ 'spark'
/ ns /	/mUṇsi/ 'clerk'	/jIṇs/ 'victuals'
/ nn /	/chāṇni/ 'sieve'	/bUṇn/ 'weaving'
/ ny /	/cāṇyatthi/ 'piece of sandal wood'	

Init.		Med.	Fin.
/lp/		/kəlpna/ 'a female given name'	/sɪlp/ 'craft'
/lph/		/sʊlpha/ 'small ball of tobacco'	/kʊlph/ 'padlock'
/lb/		/məlbə/ 'fragments of a broken house'	/təlb/ 'salary'
/lt/	/ltípha/ 'joke'	/dālti/ 'pertaining to court'	/hālt/ 'condition'
/ld/		/həldi/ 'turmeric'	/jɪld/ 'binding'
/lt/		/bālti/ 'bucket'	
/lc/	/lcākka/ 'elasticity'	/məsālci/ 'torch bearer, cook's artist'	
/lj/		/gəljāri/ 'a male given name'	
/lk/	/lkōla/ 'nook in a wall'	/phʊlka/ 'a thin chapati'	/pālk/ 'spinach, <i>Betavulgaris</i> '
/lkh/		/təlkhi/ 'restlessness'	/mʊlkh/ 'country'
/lg/		/lālgī/ 'redness'	

Init.		Med.	Fin.
/ls/		/tŪlsi/ 'basil'	/kəls/ 'water vessel used in worship'
/lm/		/kəłmi/ 'cultivated by grafting'	/cɪlm/ 'bowl of pipe'
/ln/		/mɪlni/ 'meeting'	/cəlcəln/ 'character'
/lr/		/cəlrə/ 'fringe (F.pl.)'	
/lɾ/		/phəlɾu/ 'diaper'	
/lŋ/		/məłŋu/ 'a village in Kangra'	
/ll/		/pəlla/ 'border of a garment'	
/ly/	/lyār/ 'fresh, newly calved'	/səlyāṇa/ 'a village in Palampur'	
/lp/		/kəlpāṇa/ 'to be afflicted (Caus.)'	/kəlp/ 'be afflicted (imp. 2nd. sg.)'
/lph/		/gŪlpha/ 'phlegm'	
/lb/		/jəłbi/ 'envious'	/jəlb/ 'envy (Sub.)'

Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ ɭt /	/pāɭtu/ 'tamed (Adj.)'	/gāɭt/ 'wrong'
/ ɭth /	/pāɭtha/ 'overturn'	/kUɭth/ 'a kind of pulse, <i>Dolichos uniflorus</i> '
/ ɭd /	/pāɭda/ 'dish of curd'	/bāɭd/ 'ox'
/ ɭt /	/pāɭta/ 'turn (Sub.)'	/Uɭt/ 'contrary'
/ ɭḍ /	/dāɭḍa/ 'a vegetable ghee'	
/ ɭc /	/lāɭci/ 'greedy'	/lāɭc/ 'greed'
/ ɭch /	/gUɭchāra/ 'revelry'	/gUɭch/ 'vomit (Sub.)'
/ ɭj /	/kāɭja/ 'liver'	/kUɭj/ 'tutelary god'
/ ɭk /	/pāɭki/ 'palankeen'	/hāɭk/ 'hydrophobia'
/ ɭkh /	/bɭɭkhṇa/ 'to sob'	/āɭkh/ 'idleness'
/ ɭg /	/sUɭgṇa/ 'to kindle'	/sUɭg/ 'kindling'

Init.	Med.	Fin.
/ ɭs /	/əɭsi/ 'linseed'	/məɭs/ 'dunghill'
/ ɭm /	/pəɭmu/ 'belonging to Palampur'	/pəɭm/ 'local name of Palampur'
/ ɭn /	/jəɭni/ 'anger'	/jəɭn/ 'burning'
/ ɭy /	/səɭyà/ 'wife of wife's brother'	

1.411111 Chart of clusters of two consonants

First members ↓	Second members								
	p	ph	b	t	th	d	ɖ	ʈh	ɖ
p	M	MF		IMF		M	IMF		
ph				MF		M	I		
b			M	IMF		MF	MF		
t			I	M	MF	M			
th						M			
d			MF			M			
ɖ	M					M	M	MF	
ʈh						M			
ɖ						M			M
c	IM		I	MF		M	MF		
ch	I			MF		M	I		
j	M		MF	MF		M			
k	IM		M	IM		M	IMF		
kh				MF		M	MF		
g				IMF		MF	IMF		
s	IMF	I	IMF	IMF	IM	M	IMF	M	
m	MF	MF	MF	IMF		MF	IMF		
n	M	M		MF	MF	MF			
r	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	
ɹ	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	M			
ɻ	MF		M	MF		M	MF	MF	MF
l	MF	MF	MF	IMF		MF	M		
ɭ	MF	M	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF		M

Second members

c	ch	j	k	kh	g	s	m	n	r	ɾ	ɳ	l	ɭ	y
I			MF		M	IMF	M	IM	IM	IM	M	IM	IMF	I
		MF			M				IMF	M	M	M	MF	
MF		IMF	MF		M	IMF		IMF	IMF	MF	MF	IMF	IM	I
			IMF		M	MF	IMF	MF	IMF	IMF	M	IMF	M	IM
					M			M	M	M	M		MF	I
			MF		M	MF	MF	MF	IMF	M	M	IMF	IM	IM
			IMF		M			MF	IMF	M	M		MF	IM
			MF		M				MF	M	M		M	IM
			I		M				IM	M	M		M	I
M	MF		MF		M			MF	IMF	M	M	IM	IMF	M
							M		IM	MF	M	M	MF	IM
I			MF		M	MF	IMF	MF	IMF	M	M		M	I
I		I	M	MF	M	I	MF		IMF	IMF	M	IMF	IM	IM
					M		IMF		IMF	IMF	MF	MF	M	IM
M		MF			M	MF	IMF	MF	IMF	IMF	MF	IMF	IMF	IM
M			IMF	M	IM	M	IMF	IMF	IMF	IMF	IM	IMF	IMF	IM
M		MF	IMF		M	IMF	M	IMF	IMF	MF	MF	IMF	IM	IM
MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	M	MF	M	IM	M	M	M		IM
MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	IMF	MF	MF		MF		MF	IM
M	MF		MF	M	MF	MF	MF	MF				M		M
M	M	MF	MF		MF	MF		MF						M
IM		M	IMF	MF	M	MF	MF	MF	M	M	M	M		IM
MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF	MF						M

Note : This chart is based on more extensive work in the field. This, however, does not represent every possibility which might be encountered.

I=initial, M=medial, F=final, IM=initial and medial, IF=initial and final, MF=medial and final, IMF=initial, medial and final.

1.411112. Summary

There are many limitations in the formations of clusters :

- I. Two aspirated stops never occur together.
- II. In the initial position
 - (a) geminated consonants do not occur,
 - (b) /ɾ ɳ ɭ y/ do not occur as a first member and
 - (c) /d ch kh/ do not occur as a second member.
- III. In the medial position
 - (a) all consonants occur geminated except
/ph th ʈ ch kh r ɾ ɳ ɭ y/.

In case of aspirates only the stop element is geminated.

 - (b) / y / does not occur as a first member and
 - (c) / d / as a second member occurs only with / d ɳ ɭ /.
- IV. In the final position
 - (a) the stem final geminated consonants are not treated here as clusters e.g. / cāll / 'move'. Here the gemination is not in the canon of permanency occurring in various contexts to be described in § 2.0.
 - (b) / d y / have no possibility and
 - (c) as a first member :
/ th / occurs with / ɭ / only and
/ th / occurs with / k r / only.
- V. Some of the clusters are intercepted by vocalic glide in slowspeech. In a well-knit sequence the first member occurs unreleased and the second fully released.

1.41112 Tripartite clusters

The clusters of three consonants occur medially. Mostly the first two or the last two consonants occur homorganic. These consist of a nasal followed by a corresponding stop with a few exceptions as mentioned already in § 1.411.

(a)	/l _k p/	/bā _k pən/	'childhood'
	/gtb/	/tāgtbər/	'strong'
	/ngt/	/māngta/	'beggar'

(b) / d / and / ŋ / as a final member preceded by two consonants

In the following examples / da / is imperf. M. sg. and / na / is a verbal noun.

/ l p /	/kāl _k pda/	/kāl _k pna/	'to be afflicted'
/ nd /	/nī _n dda/	/nī _n ḍna/	'to furrow'
/ ct /	/Ūct _t da/	/Ūct _t ṇa/	'to perplex'
/ lt /	/pāl _t ṇa/	/pāl _t ṇa/	'to turn'
/ ṇ d /	/cāṇ _n dda/	/cāṇ _n ḍna/	'to flatten'
/ lc /	/pāl _k cda/	/pāl _k cṇa/	'to entangle'
/ rc /	/khār _c cda/	/khār _c cṇa/	'to spend'
/ pk /	/lāp _k kda/	/lāp _k kṇa/	'to pounce'
/ tk /	/māt _k kda/	/māt _k kṇa/	'to flirt'
/ mt /	/cīm _t ṇda/	/cīm _t ṇa/	'to cling'
/ mk /	/lām _k kda/	/lām _k kṇa/	'to hang up'
/ nk /	/phē _n nkda/	/phē _n nkṇa/	'to throw'
/ ṛ k /	/pār _k kda/	/pār _k kṇa/	'to flame'
/ k /	/pāl _k kda/	/pāl _k kṇa/	'to fade'

/ kh /	/bʃ khda/	/bʃ khna/	'to sob'
/ ngŋ /	/mōngda/	/mōngna/	'to beg'
/ gŋ /	/sŪ gda/	/sŪ gna/	'to be kindled'

(c) /r/ as final member

/ntr/	/səgənt̪ra/	'orange'
/ndr/	/bōndri/	'mat of straw'
/nkr/	/t̪ānkri/	'script used in Kangra'
/str/	/Ūstra/	'razor'
/s̪r/	/məst̪rēni/	'teacher (F.)'
/skr/	/mōskra/	'joker'

(d) /r̪/ as a final member

/mbr̪/	/limbr̪a/	'sluggish'
/ndr̪/	/j̪l̪ndri/	'life'
/nkr̪/	/s̪ēnkra/	'unit of a hundred'
/ngr̪/	/l̪āngra/	'lame'

(e) /l/ as a final member

/nj̪l/	/mōnj̪la/	'middle one'
/ngl̪/	/j̪əngli/	'wild'

(f) /l̪/ as a final member

/nd̪l̪/	/khŪnd̪la/	'Pine marten'
/nk̪l̪/	/ēnk̪lu/	'rice bread'
/ng̪l̪/	/ōng̪li/	'finger'
/nd̪l̪/	/kŪnd̪la/	'an earthen pot for keeping breads'

(g) /y/ as a final member

/nty/	/pəntyāni/	'pandita (F.)'
/ddy/	/bīddyā/	'knowledge'
/ndy/	/sāndya/	'prayer'
/ssy/	/təpāssya/	'penance'
/ṛsy/	/mṛṇsyāni/	'wife of a copyist or a teacher'
/rmy/	/dərmyānna/	'middle one'

1.412 Semivowels

/h/ occurs only in initial position.

/y/ occurs initially in prevocalic position :

/yāṇa/ 'child'.

It occurs in an initial cluster preceded by a consonant :

/byá/ 'marriage'.

In the speech of some persons /y/ alternates with /j/ in initial position :

/yǎd/ ~ /jǎd/ 'memory'.

1.413 Vowels : a statement

The vowels occur in all positions except /I U ə/ which do not occur in final position.

1.4131 Vowel sequences

The vowels occur with independent peak and form a sequence. In rapid speech the sequence of two vowels tends to be a diphthong. The diphthong may be described as a vowel glide. The speech organs start in the position of a vowel and move in the direction of another vowel.¹

1. Cf. "Speakers of English are likely to utilize vocoid glides from one tongue position to another within their words." Pike, p. 19,

In the normal discourse two vowels occur in a sequence. To term this sequence of vowels as a diphthong is not in the canon of currency of the modern linguistics¹.

Phonetically level glides are there as the smooth gliding transition occurs between the successive vowels as in /Ua/ but the vowel receives equal prominence allowing for the difference between atonic and tonic syllables for that we do not find it necessary to speak of the diphthong in this dialect either phonetically or phonemically as stated in § 1.313.

In many cases sequences of two vowels in final position occur across morpheme boundaries i.e. noun or verb root plus suffix as gender and number marker.

1.41311 Sequences of two vowels

The following are the patterns of vowel sequences :

(a) Initials :

/āi/ 'come (perf. F. sg.)', /ōe/ '(vocative particle)', /ōa/ 'come (imp. 2nd pl.), potter's kiln' and /Uān/ 'room.

(b) Medials :

/Ua/	/tUār/	'Sunday, put down (imp. 2nd. sg.)'
	/gUār/	'rustic'

(c) Finals :

/ ie /	/bĪṭie/	'girl (Voc. sg.)'
/ ia /	/tōlia/	'towel'
/ io /	/bĪṭio/	'girl (Voc. pl.)'

1. Cf. "The term "diphthong" is in general avoided in this book because it causes confusion due to various current usages of the term".
Pike, p. 19, fn. 2.

/ iu /	/kĩũ/	'a kind of vegetable, bean'
/ ei /	/trēi/	'twenty-three'
/ ea /	/dēa/	'give (imp. 2nd pl.)'
/ eo /	/dēo/	'God'
/ eu /	/dēu/	'little girl'
/ ai /	/bāi/	'twenty-two'
/ ae /	/māe/	'mother (Voc. sg.)'
/ ao /	/pāo/	' $\frac{1}{4}$ seer weight'
/ au /	/pāu/	'brother'
/ oi /	/kōi/	'any one'
/ oe /	/kōe/	'crow (Voc. sg.)'
/ oa /	/khōa/	'insipissated milk'
/ oo /	/kōo/ ~ /kō/	'crow (Voc. pl.)'
/ ou /	/lōu/	'blood'
/ ui /	/sūi/	'needle'
/ ue /	/sūe/	'pack needle (pl.)'
/ ua /	/cúa/	'rat'
/ uo /	/buō/	'father's sister (Voc. pl.)'
/ Ua /	/kārUa/	'earthen pot'
/ ai /	/gāi/	'go (perf. F. sg.)'
/ ae /	/gāe/	'go (perf. M. pl.)'
/ au /	/gāu/	'cow'

1.41312 Sequences of three vowels**(a) Initials :**

/ aiă /	'come (perf. F. pl.)'
/ āea /	'come (perf. M. sg.)'
/ āeo /	'come (perf. M. pl.)'
/ ɔiă /	'a kind of tree (F. pl.)'

(b) Finals :

/ aie /	/dāie/	'nurse (Voc. sg.)'
/ aia /	/dāia/	'nurse (Obl. sg.)'
/ aio /	/dāio/	'nurse (Voc. pl.)'
/ aue /	/tāue/	'father's brother (Obl. sg.)'
/ auo /	/tāuo/	'father's brother (Voc. pl.)'
/ Uai /	/bUai/	'father's sister's spouse,
/ Uae /	/sUae/	'sleep (Caus. perf. M. pl.)'
/ Uau /	/dUau/	'lavish'
/ ɔia /	/kɔ̃iă/	'many (Obl. pl.)'
/ əUa /	/pəUa/	' $\frac{1}{4}$ seer (a term used in liquid measures'

1.41313 Sequences of four vowels in final position

/ Uaie /	/bUaie/	'father's sister's spouse (Obl. sg.)'
/Uaia/	/jŮāiă/	'daughter's spouse (Obl. pl.)'
/Uaea/	/sUaea/	'sleep (Caus. perf. M. sg.)'

1.4132 Sequences of vowels in the tabular form

Second members	First members									
↓	i	e	ε	u	ɔ	o	u	I	U	ə
i		ei		ai		oi	ui			əi
e		ie		ae		oe	ue			əe
ε										
a		ia	ea			oa	ua		Ua	
ɔ										
o		io	eo		ao		oo	uo		
u		iu	eu		au		ou			əu
I										
U										
ə										

1.4133 Summary

In sequences of vowels

- I. /I U ə/ do not occur as second members.
- II. /ε ɔ I/ have no possibility.
- III. There is no sequence of /iI, Ii, uU, Uu, aə, əa/.
- IV. Two similar vowels do not occur together except phonetically in slow speech : /kɔo/ 'crow (Voc. pl)'.

1.42 Distributional peculiarities of suprasegments

1.421 Nasalisation

Nasalisation occurs here as a suprasegmental phoneme. All vowels can be nasalised.

- I. Nasalisation occurs as a morph :

/khā/ 'eat (cont. 1st sg.)' : /khā/ 'eat (imp. 2nd pl.)'
 /cālā/ 'move (cont. 1st sg.)' : /cālā/ 'move (imp. 2nd pl.)'
 /kāmā/ 'earn (cont. 1st sg.)' : /kāmā/ 'earn (imp. 2nd pl.)'

II. As described in § 1.313 (IV) the nasalisation of vowels is illustrated here. It should be noted that the slight nasalisation as indicated here is not an allophone of /[~]/.

The slight nasalisation occurs as :

(a) on a vowel following a nasal before silence in monosyllabic words :

[nā̃] /nā/ 'name', [nī̃] /nī/ 'foundation stone'.

(b) A vowel between nasal consonants :

[nō̃ṛ̃] /nōṇ/ 'tank', [mā̃ṛ̃] /māṇ/ 'maund'

[mō̃ṃ] /mōm/ 'wax', [mī̃m] /mīm/ 'white lady'

[mā̃n] /mān/ 'respect (Sub.)', [nē̃ṛ̃] /nēṇ/ 'barber (F.)',

[nə̃ṛ̃a < n] /nəṇān/ 'husband's sister'.

(c) Vowels preceded and followed by nasals :

[ī̃nī] /īni/ 'he, this (agent. sg.)',

[mū̃nī] /mūni/ 'sage', [sə̃mā] /səma/ 'time, age',

[dū̃ṛ̃a] /dūṇa/ 'double', [sā̃ṇī] /sāṇi/ 'merchant's wife'.

(d) Vowels occurring before or after the geminated nasal consonants :

[ā̃mma] /āmma/ 'mother', [gū̃mma] /gūmma/ 'a place name',

[sū̃nna] /sūnna/ 'gold', [dū̃nna] /dūnna/ 'cup made of leaves'.

(e) A nasal preceding a vowel is less influential than a nasal following.¹ The nasalisation occurs stronger in [sā̃n] /sān/ 'glory' than in [nās̃] /nās/ 'destruction' and in [lām̃] /lām/ 'battle' than [mā̃l] /mal/ 'property'.

1. Kelkar, *Studies in Hindi-Urdu*, p. 33.

III. Nasalisation occurs on the sequence of vowels. A sequence of vowels is either all nasalised or all oral. There is no contrast between nasal and oral vowels occurring immediately before or after a nasal consonant :

/gãĩ/ 'cow (pl.)' : /gãi/ 'cow (Obl. sg.)'
 /jũãĩã/ 'daughter's spouse (Obl. pl.)' :
 /jUãia/ 'daughter's spouse (Voc. sg.)'
 /sãĩ/ 'saint' : /sãi/ 'advance money'.

Note : There is no sequence as [Vĩ] or [ĩV]. There is no contrast between [ĩn] : [Vn].

1.422 Tone : a general statement

The occurrence of the tone is the most characteristic feature in this dialect. It is significant to observe that each phonologic word has only one lexically significant and contrastive tone. Phonetically the stress occurs with the tone but it has been considered phonemically an automatic predictable concomitant of the tone hence it is not significant and worth notation in the present description.¹

It is worth-while to illustrate the statement to be given in §2.31 in this context with a few examples here. Mostly the tone occurs on the initial syllable but it occurs on the second syllable in the following positions :

- I. Tone occurs on the causal suffix² /-a/ :
 /calã/ 'move (Caus. imp. 2nd pl.)'.

Note : Here the first syllable is atonic.

-
1. "Though the tones are named according to level, this should not be interpreted to mean that other features are non-significant or even necessarily secondary. Tones are manifested in speech by a complex set of speech parameters which also manifest intonation pitches and terminals." Gill & Gleason, p. 52.
 2. "Morphologically speaking, a vowel bearing a tone is always part of the stem. Vowels occurring as inflectional endings are atonic. A shift of tone from the stem vowel occurs in some cases, as for example in verbs, when a few derivational suffixes are added, provided these derivational suffixes contain any one of the vowels / i e ε a o u /". Bahl, p.161.

/côla/ 'move (imp 2nd pl.)'.

Note : Here the second syllable is atonic. Thus the tone is the meaning differentiating marker.

II. It occurs on the second syllable when a phonologic word is bound with the initial affix :

/əsōk/ 'a male given name', /bəjōg/ 'separation',
/kəcal/ 'bad conduct'.

III. In a trisyllabic word the middle syllable bears the tone :

/pəjāri/ 'priest', /kəṭāra/ 'dagger'.

As an exception, the tone occurs on the first syllable if there is the sequence of vowels and consonants in a phonologic word :

/mŪnīā/ 'girl (pl.)', /dēbtea/ 'God (Voc. sg.)',
/mūttorna/ 'to urinate'.

IV. *Compound words*

The words composed of more than one root morpheme bear the tone on the first element of the compound. The other elements are considered atonic, however the tone and pitch spread on these successive elements :

/mābəb/ 'parents', /jōgraj/ 'yogiraja, a male given name'.

V. *Atonic occurring with zero stress*

The postpositions, conjunctions and the particles are atonic in sentences except when used independently :

/kərete/ 'from home', /mīniada/ 'Mini's'.

1.4221 / ` / *low tone*

Characteristically it is a falling-rising tone. The glide starts at a low level and falls immediately and then rises slightly. This rise of the glide is not of a considerable amount. In the process of articulation there is a considerable constraint in the larynx. It results in a creaky voice. In a slow speech this creaky voice is a quite distinctive feature of the tone.

This low tone does not occur initially on the vowel.

I. In the monosyllabic words the glide falls and rises slightly if the tone occurs on / I U ə / :

/pàkkh/ 'burn (V.)', /pĭkkh/ 'beggary', /pŭkkh/ 'hunger'.

Otherwise the fall of the glide is more distinct with a slight rise on the vowels with all possible combinations of consonants :

/pà/ 'rate', /pòj/ 'feast', /tɹà/ 'chapter', /pyàg/ 'morning',
/nyàlp/ 'waiting', /pàrt/ 'Bhārata' and /tirj/ 'patience'.

II. In the disyllabic words this tone occurs as follows :

(a) The glide falls and rises slightly on the first syllable when the second syllable is atonic. The pitch continues and the glide completes its rise on this atonic syllable :

/kə̀rə/ 'pitcher, shape (imp. 2nd pl.)', /tə̀a/ 'wash (imp. 2nd pl.)', /tòbbi/ 'washerman', /m̀nna/ 'month',
/tə̀rti/ 'earth'.

(b) If the tone occurs on the second syllable the glide falls immediately and rises slightly on the same syllable. The pitch starts from the first atonic syllable and completes on the second syllable. The stress on this syllable is higher :

/kə̀rə/ 'shape (Caus. imp. 2nd sg. & pl.)',
/cə̀rə/ 'ascend (Caus. imp. 2nd sg. & pl.)',
/pə̀rə/ 'fill (Caus. imp. 2nd sg. & pl.)'.

1.4222 / - / mid tone

It is an intermediate tone. The syllable occurs in its normal length. The glide starts at the mid level and ends with a slight rise.

(a) The pitch level is conspicuous in the monosyllabic words consisting of a vowel alone or a vowel with all possible combinations of consonants occurring initially, finally and in clusters :

/ā/ 'yes', /ā/ 'pond', /ādt/ 'habit', /gā/ 'cow', /gā/ 'abuse (Sub.)', /glās/ 'glass', /bārt/ 'fast'.

(b) In the disyllabic words :

i. The tone accompanied by stress and pitch occurs on the first syllable. The glide rises slightly on the second syllable which is atonic :

/pāṇi/ 'water', /krāṇi/ 'hard, (F.), a caste woman',
/māṭṭha/ 'slow'.

ii. If the tone occurs on the second syllable the first syllable being atonic has a low pitch. The stress and pitch are comparatively more on the second syllable bearing the tone :

/tāḷā/ 'tank, fry (Caus. imp. 2nd pl.)',
/nārōg/ 'without illness'.

1.4223 /' / high tone

Characteristically it is a high-falling tone.¹ The glide rises high and falls immediately on the syllable bearing this tone. The pitch rises and falls on the same syllable.

I. In the monosyllabic words the glide 'and pitch are completed on the same syllable. This tone occurs on a vowel with all possible combinations of consonants :

/ ó / 'that', / tí / 'thirty', / pó / 'a month, *Pauṣa*', /mór/ 'stamp', /prór/ 'present of sweets at the time of marriage', /mólt/ 'time fixed for certain cause', /byá/ 'marriage'.

The rise of the glide on / I U ə / bearing high tone is not quite distinct like that on the other vowel as described above :

/kár/ 'boil (imp. 2nd sg.)', /pár/ 'read (imp. 2nd sg.)'.

II. In the disyllabic words if the high tone occurs on the first syllable the glide rises high and falls on the same syllable. The pitch is

1. "It may rise to its maximum height while showing rise-fall, (H-1 to 5) thereby creating peaks and valleys in the movement pattern of the contour." Sandhu, p.33.

realised on the second atonic syllable :

/sóra/ 'spouse's father', /múra/ 'king (a term used in address to seniors)', /kóa/ 'ascend, (imp. 2nd pl.)', /lóa/ 'descend (imp. 2nd sg.)', iron', /byátta/ 'a marriage partyman', /dyóðdi/ 'entrance'.

If the tone occurs on the second syllable, the glide falls and rises on the same syllable but the pitch starts on the first atonic syllable and completes on the second syllable bearing this tone. It is shorter than the basic high tone which occurs on the first syllable of the phonologic word. It results in intermediate tone finally in a phrase in non-emphatic intonation as described in § 1.4261 :

/kəpá/ 'cotton', /kərá/ 'pudding', /pətrá/ 'bundle of leaves', /mətrá/ 'urinate (Caus. imp. 2nd sg.)'.

1.423 Junctures

These are distinguishable in the normal speech. Phonetically these are identifiable only a part of time in the environments at which the grammatical units occur immediately one after another. In rapid speech this phenomenon may be lost.

I. In the close juncture the break is brief and a consonant or a vowel in the preceding syllable occurs lax :

/māra_da/ 'beat (dur. M. sg.)',
/mār_da/ 'beat (imperf. M. sg.)'.

II. In the open juncture a vowel in the preceding syllable occurs extralong :

/māra+dā/ 'Apply wager', (imp. 2nd pl.)'.

A consonant in the preceding syllable occurs tense :

/mār+dā/ 'Apply wager, (imp. 2nd sg.)'.

1.424 Pitch levels and terminals in the intonational system

The vocal qualifiers are variations from the norm of speech along with the dimensions of loudness, pitch, tempo etc. The pitch is the psychological impression obtained from the physical frequency of sounds. It is analysed better in an utterance. The syllable bearing the pitch stands distinguished with a prominence.

Intonation is a variation in the pitch of the voice in typical expressions. It is a highly expressive speech attribute in the language. The movement of pitch is a psychologically arbitrary and communicative in purpose. The intonation system consists of a significant arrangement of pitches /¹/, /²/, /³/, /⁴/ . These are the four levels : low, mid, high and extrahigh respectively.

An ordinary utterance consists of /² ³ ¹/ . The pitch level /⁴/ is the harbinger of the special emphasis, sharp contrast, emotional colouring, exclamation or the like.

The rises and falls in the pitch occur in the system of intonation. Thus the intonation is distinguished in two types :

- i. A statement occurs in the falling intonation.
- ii. An interrogation occurs in the rising intonation.

In this system the rise of pitch is from a low point to a peak and then it is followed by a fall. The peak is the significant pitch point.

1.425 Terminals

In this process the following three terminals are realised :

/↘/ the falling terminal compresses the pitch by quick falling of the voice.

/↗/ the rising terminal accentuates the upglide by quick rise of the voice before fading out.

/// the level terminal is a phrase and clause terminal

/↘/ and /↗/ the falling and rising terminals occur in a sentence.

1.426 Intonation patterns

The four pitches together with three terminals form intonational contours. A down drift of the total pitch profile spreads over the whole phrase preceding the nucleus. There is a crescendo of speed and intensity on the nucleus. The main type of down drift occurs in steps with deliberate lento articulation accompanied by a long phrase after each successive step down to the lowest level in a non-final

macro-phrase. In such a phrase-profile each phrase is long and is preceded by a final contour of the normal type but the non-final macro-phrase lacks the features of the phrase nucleus. In a smooth profile a continuous fall of pitch occurs over the phrase untill the first open juncture in a macro-phrase.

The following patterns occur in a normal conversation :

I. /² 1[✓]/ uncoloured statement :

/²hŪn 1gēa sē[✓]/ 'He has gone now'.

/²mŪndu 1sājānpārejo gēa[✓]/ 'The boy went to Sujanpur'.

II. /² 3 2[✓]/ emphatic statement :

/²tū 3bāṛa 2ptōṛṛ hē[✓]/ 'You are very insane'.

/²mē 3ni 2nāṣḍa[✓]/ 'I do not run away'.

III. /² 3[✓]/ general emphasis :

/dō 2dūne 3cār[✓]/ 'Two and two (make) four'.

IV. /² 4 1[✓]/ statement with a specific emphasis :

/²chóruā 4māṣṭar 1phāṇneā[✓]/ 'The urchins beat the teacher'.

/²pōttbi 4ni 1mŪṣni[✓] / 'The book should not be stolen'.

V. /² 2[✓]/ independent vocative :

/²phán 2ge[✓]/ 'a given name'.

/²bī 2ṭie[✓]/ 'girl'.

/² 2[✓] / : /³kyā 2nyōṛa 1bāṇāza // 2āmm 2a² /

'Which vegetable have you prepared, O mother ?'

VI. /² 2[✓] / dependent vocative :

/²bōb 2bo // 3gāl 1sŪn[✓]/ 'O sister, listen to a talk'.

/² 2² / : / 2tī 2e // 2kyā 1kāmādi² / 'O daughter, what are you doing ?'

This pattern occasionally appears as a more polite or friendly in address forms :

/³tUàri ³bāri mēr¹banni // ²bāj²ia ✓/ '(It) is very kind of you, Sir.'

VII. /² ³ ²✓ / command, request :

/³hōlē ²cāl✓/ 'Go slow'.

/²mĪnjo ³nyāli lāā✓/ '(Please) wait for me'.

/²pēt k³hánneo ²tŪsā✓/ 'You, (please) eat cooked rice'.

VIII. /³ ²✓ / dependent clause in the sense of incomplete :

/²mĪnjo ¹bājòada // ³tē pās ²nī hōṇa✓ /

'(It) appears to me (that) you will not pass (the examination)'.

IX. /² ² ¹✓ / as above :

/²tĪni ³gāl ¹sŪni✓ // ²pār ²kĭtta ¹kākh nī✓/

'He listened the matter but did nothing'.

X. /² ² ✓ / surprise, admiration :

/²hā²la ✓/ 'Oh, well !'

/²jōṇ²ḍu ✓/ '(Is he) Johndu (a name) ?'

/²bá ²bá ✓/ 'Bravo !'

XI. /² ³ ²✓/ simple question asking for information :

Here the focus is the interrogative word.

/²mŪḍu ³sājānpāre jo ²kājo cāllea ✓/

'Why is the boy going to Sujanpur ?'

/²kràtiē ³pīn ²pitta↗/

'Did the water-mill owner grind the commodities?'

Note : These are the questions to which answer is 'yes' or 'no'.

With this intonation pattern the sentences of this dialect can occur as interrogative sentences.

1.4261 Inconsistency of tone in intonation

In this dialect tone and intonation are cumulative. The pitch occurs together with the tone. Intonation overrides the tone. It results in the intermediate tone in the non-initial elements because the tone of word nucleus in phrase final position is subservient to the style of speech which is superimposed upon the normal speech as described in § 1.4223.

/²sé ¹cāla gēa↘/ 'He has gone (uncoloured statement)'.

/³sé ²cāla ¹gēa↘/ 'He has gone (statement of surprise)'.

/³cāla ²gēa ¹sē↘/ 'He has gone (statement with emphasis)'.

1.43 Syllabic structure of a phonologic word

The phonologic word constitutes the maximal domain in the description of the present dialect. It is defined as "the stretch of segmental phonemes with no non-close junctures, within and bounded by non-close junctures and/or utterance boundary".¹ According to Botha "the features occurring in lexical matrices can be arranged into a hierarchy with respect to the degree of arbitrariness of the divisions in the lexicon which they represent". He says again, "The symbols indicating word boundaries are inserted by a general convention into syntactic surface structures to the left and right of each formative or string of formatives that is dominated by a 'major category'. Examples of major categories are the lexical categories, 'Noun', 'Verb', 'Adjective' and the grammatical categories 'Noun Phrase' and 'Verb Phrase'.²

1. Kelkar, *Studies in Hindi-Urdu*, p. 21.

2. Botha, pp. 54-55.

In the structure of this dialect a syllable is the minimum unit of speech having a peak of sonority. It is spoken in one chest pulse. A vowel functions as the nucleus of a syllable.¹ It occurs alone or with one or more consonants and includes the suprasegmental phonemes like nasalisation and tone.

In the analysis of the syllable Einar Haugen has, in part, adopted the useful set of terms invented by Charles F. Hockett. According to him, "the smallest unit of recurrent phonemic sequences which makes it possible to describe the distribution of segmental phonemes and configurative phonemic entities most economically, is the syllable".²

The following are the significant features which help to ascertain the syllabic boundary in the present analysis on application of these terms :

I. Each of the constituents of the syllable consists of one or more phonemes with the vowel occupying the peak.

II. The nucleus of the syllable is an irreducible minimum. It is called a peak.

III. The margin is an optional remainder.

IV. The consonants are the margins. These may either precede or follow the nucleus.

V. The prenuclear margin is an onset.

VI. The postnuclear margin is a coda.

To illustrate these features we cite the following examples :

(a) / CV /, / VC / occur with one vocalic peak :

/ ās / 'hope (Sub.)', / gā / 'cow'.

(b) An intervocalic consonant is the onset of the syllable :

/ āsa / 'a female given name'.

1 "Since many languages lack syllables without a prevocalic consonant and/or with a postvocalic consonant, CV (Consonant + vowel) is the only universal model of the syllable". Jakobson, p. 491.

"The essential element of the syllable was said to be the vowel. As the Nārada Śikṣā points out, consonants are like pearls in a necklace but the thread which supports them is the vowels." Varma, Siddheshwar, P. 55.

2. Hockett, pp. 85-86, 99; Haugen, pp. 217-18.

(c) Two consonants occur :

(i) as the prenuclear margins of the syllable :

/krār / 'a caste', *vaishya*' and

(ii) as the postnuclear margins :

/āst / 'set' (Sub.).

(d) The nuclear is preceded and followed by two consonants, initially as onsets and finally as codas :

/grāst / 'eclipsed'.

(e) When two consonants occur intervocalically the first consonant being the postnuclear margin is the coda and the second one being the prenuclear margin is an onset :

/sāb₂ji/ 'vegetable', /gĪt₂ti/ 'pebel.'

This internuclear margin is an interlude. Hockett regards the interludes as belonging "both to the syllable which contains the preceding peak and to that which contains the following peak."¹

When / m n r r ŋ l l / occur as the second members of intervocalic sequences of two consonants and the vowel which precedes is a vowel other than /I U ə/ these two consonants are the prenuclear margins of the syllable within a phonologic word :

/mā ₂ tma/	'mabatma'	:	/cāk ₂ ma/	'deceit'
/prā ₂ thna/	'prayer'	:	/sŪp ₂ na/	'dream'
/jā ₂ tra/	'pilgrimage'	:	/sāj ₂ ra/	'fresh'
/kā ₂ kṛi/	'cucumber'	:	/kŪk ₂ ṛi/	'hen'
/mā ₂ lṇu/	'place name' in Kangra'	:	/sŪkh ₂ ṇa/	'prayer to get something'
/sā ₂ khla/	'relative'	:	/nāk ₂ li/	'artificial'
/hū ₂ tla/	'stammerer'	:	/cāk ₂ la/	'pastryboard'.

1.431 Monosyllabic patterns

The following are the syllable patterns available in monosyllabic words spoken in this dialect :

(a) Monophonemic : / V / :

/ á / 'come (imp. 2nd sg.)', / ō / '(Voc. particle)' / ā / 'yes'.

1. Hockett, p. 218.

(b) Diaphonemic : / VC / :

/ ās / 'hope (Sub.)', / ōs / 'aunce'.

/ CV / : / gā / 'sing (imp. 2nd pl.)', 'cow',

/ gā̃ / 'sing (cont. 1st sg.)',

/ gá / 'sing (imp. 2nd sg.)', / kà / 'grass'.

(c) Triphonemic : / VCC / :

/ āst / 'setting of the sun, moon or luminaries',

/ āmb / 'mango'.

/ CVC / : / gā / 'abuse (Sub.)', / mā / 'wealth',

/ CCV / : / kyā / 'what?', / g!ō / 'a bitter creeper',

/ grá / 'morsel'.

(d) Quadriphonemic : / CVCC / :

/ cŪst / 'active', / jānm / 'birth', / sōrp / 'snake'.

/ CCVC / : / krār / 'a caste, *vaishya*', / prī / 'love (Sub.)',

/ grēn / 'eclipse (Sub.)'.

(e) Pentaphonemic : / CCVCC / :

/ grást / 'seized, eclipsed (Adj.)', / krōnk / 'watchman',

/ gtān / 'singer (F.)'.

(f) Hexaphonemic : / CCCVCC / :

/ sprīng / 'spring'. (a solitary example in the data).

1.432 Disyllabic patterns

The following are the patterns of the phonologic words occurring as disyllabics :

/ V V / : / ōa / 'come (imp. 2nd pl.)', 'potter's, kiln',

/ āi / 'come (perf. F. sg.)'.

/ V VC / : / Ūās / '15th night of lunar calendar',

/ Ūān / 'main room'.

/ V CV / : / āsa / 'a female given name',

/ ōlī / 'an earthen pot'.

/ V CVC / : / əsōk / 'a male given name',

/ ənūr / 'a village in Nurpur Tahsil'.

- / VC CV / : /ārti/ 'worship by waving lights',
/Imli/ 'tamarand tree'.
- / VC CVC / : /āmrat/ 'nector',
/āstər/ 'weapon, line of a garment'.
- / VC CCV / : /Ustra/ 'razor', /Īstri/ 'iron press'.
- / VC CCVC / : /āndrəs/ 'cloth used inside a garment',
/āndron/ 'ceremonial entry'.
- / CV V / : /tāu/ 'father's elder brother',
/sāi/ 'advance money'.
- / CV VC / : /sUār/ 'Sunday, rider', /gUār/ 'rustic'.
- / CV CV / : /gāru/ 'a burning charcoal', /tālu/ 'palate'.
- / CV CVC / : /phəkēs/ 'vapidity', /lālām/ 'auction'.
- / CV CVCC / : /pəcūng/ 'paw', /kərūng/ 'frown'.
- / CV CCV / : /khātma/ 'end (Sub.)', /prāthna/ 'prayer'.
- / CVC CV / : /pātra/ 'sheet', /cākma/ 'deceit'.
- / CVC CVC / : /tārpan/ 'water given to manes',
/sāppəṛ/ 'rock'.
- / CVC CCV / : /sāstri/ 'Devanāgarī script',
/tānkri/ 'script used in Kangra'.
- / CVC CCVC / : /pəṇchyāṇ/ 'recognition', /dərmyān/ 'middle'.
- / CCV V / : /mlāi/ 'cream of milk', /trēi/ 'twenty-three'.
- / CCV CV / : /krāṇi/ 'woman of vaishya caste',
/prāṇi/ 'old (F.), living being'.
- / CCV CCV / : /krīśna/ 'a female given name',
/prāsni/ 'foreteller'.
- / CCVC CVC / : /prāsthān/ 'omenological material despatched before journey', /krīścān/ 'Christian'.
- / CCVC CCV / : /krōṅkṇi/ 'wife of watchman'.

1.433 Trisyllabic patterns

- / V CV V / : /ōḷia/ 'a rope around the neck of a pot',
/édia/ 'half bottle of wine'.
- / V CV CV / : /ənāri/ 'imperfect', /ətūra/ 'incomplete'.
- / V CVC CV / : /əninda/ 'sleepless', /əṇūnja/ 'forty-nine'.
- / V CVC CCV / : /əṇindra/ 'sleeplessness'.
- / VC CV CV / : /UstUti/ 'praise (Sub.)',
/Uḍkāna/ 'to toss'.
- / VC CVC CV / : /Ustāddi/ 'cleverness',
/Ūcchāṇa/ 'to jump'.
- / VC CCVC CV / : /əndrērna/ 'to admit the bride ceremonially',
/əndrētṭa/ 'a village in Kangra'.
- / CV V V / : /gUái/ 'witness, ascent (Sub.)',
/ḍUāu/ 'lavish'.
- / CV V CV / : /dUāri/ 'window', /sUāri/ 'riding'.
- / CV VC CV / : /gāitri/ 'a female given name'.
- / CV VC CVC / : /kUārpəṇ/ 'state of bachelor',
/gUārpəṇ/ 'vulgarity'.
- / CV CV V / : /pəṇḍa/ 'sister's husband, /dŪtia/ 'second day of lunar fortnight'.
- / CV CV CV / : /mākōri/ 'ant', /batēra/ 'much'.
- / CV CV CVC / : /pēredar/ 'watchman',
/cōkidar/ 'watchman'.
- / CV CVC CV / : /pəbītri/ 'a ring made of *kusha* grass',
/səbītri/ 'a female given name'.
- / CV CVC CCV / : /səgāntra/ 'orange', /təṛuṅṇa/ 'to haul'.
- / CV CVC CVC / : /pəbīttar/ 'pious', /nəchāttar/ 'planet'.
- / CVC CV V / : /səṅglóa/ 'tapeworm',
/məklōa/ 'ceremony of the second entrance of the bride'.
- / CVC CV CV / : /pəṇḍōri/ 'lower portion of a bed-stead',
/pətrāṇa/ 'barefooted'.

- /CVC CVC CV / : /mŪkkərna/ 'to deny',
/chəkrédda/ 'a group of urchins'.
- /CVC CVC CVC / : /sənyāssəṇ/ 'recluse (F.)',
/pərtāppəṇ/ 'glorious (F.)'.
- /CVC CCV V / : /tərsyāi/ 'sourness', /pəṇtyāi/ 'learning'.
- /CVC CCV CV / : /məstrēṇi/ 'teacher (F.)',
/məṇsyāṇi/ 'wife of copyist'.
- /CCV CV V / : /syāṇia/ 'elder (F. Obl. sg.)',
/trītia/ 'third day of lunar fortnight'.
- /CCV CVC CV / : /prətāṇna/ 'a male given name',
/prəthāṇni/ 'a month in which rituals
are not performed'.
- /CCV CVC CCV / : /prətītṭhya/ 'honour, consecration'.
- /CCVC CCV V / : /krōṇkṇie/ 'wife of watchman
(Voc. sg.)'.

1.434 Quadrisyllabic patterns

- /VC CV CV CV / : /ōddedari/ 'position in service'.
- /CV V V V / : /jUaie/ 'daughter's spouse (Obl. sg.)'.
- /CV V CV V / : /gUālua/ 'cowherd (Voc. sg.)',
/rUālua/ 'noise'.
- /CV CV CV CV / : /cōkidari/ 'service of watchman'.
- /CV CV CV CVC / : /cōkidarni/ 'wife of watchman',
/sŪbedarni/ 'wife of subedar'.
- /CVC CV CV V / : /pəntēṇie/ 'pandita (F. Voc. sg.)'.
- /CVC CV CVC CV / : /sōddebajji/ 'bargain'.
- /CVC CCV CV V / : /məstrēṇie/ 'teacher (F. Voc. sg.)'.

1.435 Pentasyllabic pattern

- /CV CV CV CCV V / : /cōkidarnie/ 'wife of watchman'
(Voc. sg.)', /jāmedarnie/ 'wife of
jamadar (Voc. sg.)'.

1.436 Summary

I. In the phonological hierarchy the levels are phonetically based but structurally determined.

II. The phonologic word is made of one or more phonologic syllables.

It does not begin with / ɳ ɭ ɾ / and does not end in / ɪ U ə /.

III. /h/ occurs initially.

IV. It constitutes one of the tones / ' /, / - / and / ' ' /.

V. The division of a phonologic word into syllables is predictable in terms of the segmental phonemes.

VI. Each syllable includes one and only one vowel, e.g. /āi/ 'come (perf. F. sg)'.
'

VII. Phonetically a long vowel constitutes only one phonemic syllable though the vowel may be rearticulated and even though the second part of the rearticulated vowel may have intonational pitch e.g. the phonetic syllable [kōo]~[ko·] 'crow (Voc. pl.)' is phonemically /kō/ as described in § 1.4133.

VIII. The cluster, if any, that precedes the first vowel goes with that vowel, e.g. /krōnk/ 'watchman'.

IX. The cluster, if any, that occurs between two vowels is handed in the following manner :

(a) A single consonant will go with the following vowel, e.g. /āsa/ 'desire (Sub. F.), a given name'.

(b) Where vowel is a vowel other than /I U ə/ and the consonant is /m, n, r, ɾ, ŋ, l, ɭ / the whole consonant cluster goes with the following vowel e.g. /mà.tma/ 'mahatma'.

X. The syllable onset may contain one to three consonants. The CCCV occurs very rare in complex syllables, e.g. :

/sprɪŋg/ 'spring'. /kryānna/ 'grocery'.

XI. The consonant clusters given in § 1.411111 can occur in the syllabic structure of the phonologic word.

2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The typical shapes of alternants with the types of alternation between corresponding phonemes in morphemes occurring in various environmental factors are described here.¹

These "morphemic alternants can conveniently be called ALLOMORPHS. Accordingly allomorphs are related to morphemes as allophones are related to phonemes."²

2.0 Morphophonemic adjustments : a general statement

Certain generalities about morphophonemics in all their occurrences are described here. These are considered automatic ones.

I. *Gemination*

(a) The stem final geminated consonants retain their position before a suffix in vowel. The vowel in the stem occurs with a tone :

	stem	suffix	form
'throw'	sāṭṭ	-a	sāṭṭa (imp. 2nd pl.)'

(b) In composition of the numerals the initial consonant of the second constituent occurs geminated when it is preceded by the first constituent ending in /ə/ :

chē	'six'	-bí	'twenty'	chābbi	'twenty-six'
-----	-------	-----	----------	--------	--------------

The corresponding phrase is / chē kāne bí / 'six and twenty'.

1. "A morphophoneme is thus a class of phoneme length of segments, the same segments that we have grouped into phonemes, except that into one morphophoneme we group segments which are complementary within one morpheme (holding the morpheme constant) while into phonemes we grouped segments which are complementary without regard to morpheme constancy." Harris, p. 232 fn. 30.

2. Nida, p. 258 fn.

Likewise : *chātti* 'thirty-six', corresponding with /*chē kāne ti*/ 'six and thirty'.

Note : The mid tone is retained in the first constituent but the high tone disappears in the second constituent in composition.

(c) Elsewhere these occur simplified :

(i) in word final position :

sātṭ -*ḥ* *sāṭ* 'throw (imp. 2nd sg.)'

(ii) before the suffix in / C / :

sātṭ -*d/a* *sāṭd/a* 'throw (imperf. M. sg.)'

(iii) if the suffix occurs with the tone :

sātṭ -*a* *sāṭā* 'throw (Caus. imp. 2nd pl.).'

II. /*i*/ → /*y*/ before a suffix in / V / occurring with a tone :

'drink' *pī* -*a* *pyā* '(Caus.)'

pī -*o* *pyō* '(Potential)'.

In certain types of discourse the following forms occur in free variation :

/ *i* / → / *I* / if the tone occurs on the vowel in the monosyllabic stem and / *I* / is followed by the geminated / *y* / :

'drink' *pī* -*a* *pīa* ~ *pīyya* 'imp. 2nd pl.).'

In disyllabic stem the gemination of / *y* / does not occur :

'mare' *kōṛi* -*a* *kōria* ~ *kōṛīya* '(Obl. sg.).'

III. /*e*/ → /*y*/ before the suffix in vowel

The forms occur in free variation :

'horse' *kōṛ* -*e* -*o* *kōṛeo* ~ *kōṛyo* (Voc. pl.)'

'beat' *mār* -*e* -*a* *mārea* ~ *mārya* (perf. M. sg.).'

IV. /*V*/ → /*ə*/ before the suffixes bearing tone :

'cut' *cīr* -*a* *cārā* '(Caus. I)'

cīr -*Ua* *cārUā* '(Caus. II)'

cīr -*o* *cārō* '(Potential)'.

/ CCVC / → / CVC / : In disyllabic stems the vowel in second syllable drops and the gemination is simplified before a suffix in vowel :

'refuse'	mUkkər	-a	məkrā	'(Caus. I)'
'circle'	cākkər	-ā	cākrā	'(Obl. pl.)'
'servant'	nōkkər	-i	nōkri	'service'.

V. Two successive vowels, the stem final and inflectional suffix initial vowel coalesce into one :

khā	-a	khā	'eat (imp. 2nd pl.)'
dé	-e	dé	'body (Obl. sg.)'
kō	-o	kō	'crow (Voc. pl.)'.

Note : In the speech of some persons rearticulated vowels occur in this combination :

/ khāa /, / dée /, / kōo /.

VI. Suprasegments

If one vowel occurs nasalised the sequence of all vowels is nasalised :

'daughter's spouse'	jUai	-ā	jUāiā
'(Nom. sg. & pl.)'			'(Obl. pl.)'.

2.1 Intra-word boundary alternations

2.11 Alternations in consonants

/ k / → / c /	bIk	-φ	bēc	'sell (V. t.)'
	(V. int.)			
/ k / → / g /	mŪk	-ti	mŪgti	'salvation'
/ g / → / j /	jōg	-man	jIjman	'host in sacrifice'
/ t / → / d /	chŪt	-φ	chād	'leave (V. t.)'
	(V. int.)			
/ t / → / r /	tŪt	-φ	tōr	'break (V. t.)'
	(V. int.)			

$/ \eta / \rightarrow / n /$	mār	-ŋ	mārŋ	'death'
	pār	-ŋ	pārŋ	'study (Sub.)'
	māḷ	-ŋ	māḷŋ	'shampoo (Sub.)'
$/ l / \rightarrow / ɭ /$	tāl	-ai	təḷāi	'pond'.

2.12 Alternations in vowels

// i //

$/ i / \rightarrow / y /$	si (V.)	-a	syā	'sew (Caus.)'
	tì (Sub.)	-aŋ	tyàŋ	'daughter (married one)'
$/ i / \rightarrow / ə /$	cīr (V.)	-a	cəṛā	'cut (Caus.)'
	pīṛ (V.)	-a	pəṛā	'shrink (Caus.)'
	cīr (V.)	-o	cəṛō	'cut (Potential)'.

// e //

$/ e / \rightarrow / a /$	dē (V.)	-j	dāj	'dowry'
	dē (V.)	-t/a	dat/a	'donor'
$/ e / \rightarrow / I /$	chē (Num. Adj.)	-k/a	chIkka/a	'sixth point'
$/ e / \rightarrow / ə /$	sāk (V.)	-a	səkā	'heat (Caus.)'
	tēḷ (Sub.)	-aru	təḷāru	'oilpot'
	jēṭh (Sub.)	-aŋi	jəṭhāŋi	'wife of husband's elder brother'.

// ɛ //

/ ɛ / → / e /	trē (Num. Adj.)	-o	tréo	'all three'
/ ɛ / → / a /	pēŋ (Sub.)	-j/a	pànj/a	'sister's son'
/ ɛ / → / i /	trē (Num. Adj.)	-kkər, trlkkər ~ tllkkər		'three points (Sub.)'
/ ɛ / → / ə /	phēnk (V.) bēd (Sub.) sāl (Sub.)	-a -əŋgi -anni	phənkā bədəŋgi səlānni	'throw (Caus.)' 'practice of a physician' 'trekker'.

// o //

/ o / → / u /	dō (Num. Adj.)	-ra	dúra	'two fold'
		-a	dūa	'second'
/ o / → / U /	lóa (Sub.)	-ar	lUār	'blacksmith'
	dō (Num. Adj.)	-kk/a	dŪkk/a	'two point (Sub.)'
		-gŋa	dŪgŋa	'double'
	tò (V.)	-aŋi	tUàŋi	'washings'
/ e / → / ə /	sōt (V.)	-a	sətā	'clean (Caus.)'
	gōl (Adj.)	-el	gālel	'pellet bow'
	mōt (Adj.)	-appa	məṭappa	'fatness'.

// ɔ //

/ ɔ / → / ə /	dōŋ (V.)	-a	dəŋā	'run (Caus.)'
	cōŋ (Adj.)	-ai	cəŋāi	'width'

/ ɔ / ~ / o / the alternation occurs in free variation :

/ kōŋa / ~ / kōra / 'bitter', / cōŋa / ~ / cōra / 'wide',

/ tōla / ~ / tōla / 'quick, tōla, a measure'.

// u //

/ ũ / → / o /	pārsū (Adv.)	-k, -a	pārsōkka	'pertaining to next day or day before yesterday'
/ u / → / ə /	pūr (V.)	-a	pārā	'fill (Caus.)'
	pūj (Sub.)	-ari	pājāri	'priest'.

// a //

/ a / → / i /	gā (V.)	-t	gīt	'song'
/ a / → / e /	ṭhāṇa (Sub.)	-dar	ṭhāṇedar	'sub-inspector of police'
	tòkkha (Sub.)	-baj	tòkkhebaj	'cheat (Sub.).'
/ a / → / ɛ /	bā (Sub.)	-gi (with strings hanging on each end which is kept on the shoulder for carrying weight on both sides).'	bēngi	'an elastic pole'
/ a / → / o /	cār (Num. Adj.)	-th/a	cōtth/a	'fourth'
/ a / → / o /	cār (Num. Adj.)	-a	cór/a	'four fold (Adj.)'
/ a / → / ə /	jāg (V.)	-a	jāgā	'rise (Caus.)'
	bāg (Sub.)	-icc/a	bāgicc/a	'garden'
	sād (Sub.)	-aṅgi	sādāṅgi	'practice of a mendicant'.

// i //

/ i / → / ə /	līkkh (V.)	-a	lākṭhā	'write (Caus.)'
	pīkkh (Sub.)	-ari	pākṭhāri	'beggar'
	mīttṭh (Adj.)	-as	māṭhās	'sweetness'.

// U //

/ U / → / o /	dŪd (Sub.)	-l/a	dódl/a	'milky'
/ U / → / ə /	cŪk (V.)	-a	cəka	'lift (Caus.)'
	Úggər (V.)	-a	əgrà	'open (Caus.)'.

// ə //

/ ə / → / a /	jóng (Sub.)	-ia	jángia	'knee-breeches'
/ ə / → / I /	kār (V.)	-ya	kĩrya	'death-rite'
	jæg (Sub.)	-man	jĩjman	'host in sacrifice'

2.13 Loss of consonant : medials

/ b /	byāsa	'Beas river'	-ba /a	byāsa /a	'pertaining to Beas'
	tār	'vale'	-ba /a	tāra /a	'pertaining to vale'
/ r /	sārp	'snake'	-o yy/a	səpō yy/a ~ səpōi/a	'young snake'
	sārp		-kənj	səpkənj	'slough of snake'.

2.14 Loss of vowel

(a) Initials :

/ I /	Ik	'one'	-tí	'thirty'	kātti	'thirty-one'
	Ik	'one'	-ēssi	'eighty'	kāssi	'eighty-one'.
/ U /	Uttər	'down'	-all/a	tráll/a		'down-sided (Adj.)'
	Uppər	'up'	-all/a	práll/a		'upsided (Adj.)'
/ ə /	æg	'front'	-ǣ	gǣ		'in front, before'
	ēth	'eight'	-tí	'thirty'	thātti	'thirty-eight'.

(b) Medials :

/ ɔ /	sōk	'cowife'	-Uttər	skUttər	'son of cowife'
/ I /	sīr	'head'	-ēṇa	srēṇa	'pillow'
	dīyya	'lamp'	-uṭ	dyUṭ	'lamp stand'

/ U /	sŪr	'tune, melody'	-ill/a	srill/a	'melodious'
/ ə /	kàr	'house'	-t	kràt	'watermill'
	pàr	'fill'	-o	prò	'waterplace'.

(c) Finals :

/ ɛ /	rɛ	'live'	-a	rà	'live (Caus.)'
	tɛ	'fall flat'	-a	ta	'(Caus.)'
/ a /	gā	'sing'	-o	gō	'(Potential)'
	pā	'fill'	-o	pō	'(Potential)'

2.15 Loss of consonant and vowel

The loss occurs in second syllable of a disyllabic word before the suffix in a vowel and a semivowel :

/ kə /	cākkər	-ā	cākrā	'circle (Obl. pl.)'
	līkkhəṇ	-otri	lākhṇōtri	'a document'
	sīkkhəṇ	-otru	sākhṇōtru	'apprentice'
/ gə /	bīggəṛ	-el	bāgrēl	'obstinate'
	nīggəl	-o	nāg ō	'swallow (Potential)'
/ tə /	pāttḥər	-é	pāthré	'stone throwing'
	pāttər	-á	pātrá	'bundle of leaves'
/ də /	cāndən			
	'sandal'	-yaṭṭhi cənyāṭṭhi		'piece of sandal wood'.
/ nə /	cānnəṇ			

2.16 Loss of /h/ and vowel

hār	-yaḷi	ryāḷi	'greenness, a festival'
hāttḥ	-yar	thyār	'weapon'.

2.17 Loss of vowel and consonant

/ an /	nəṇān	-Uttər	nəṇUttər
	'husband's sister,		'son of husband's sister'.

2.2 Inter-word boundary alternations

In the typical style of discourse the following examples of external sandhi, a traditional entry form, in vowels and consonants occur. According to the patterns in linguistics these are the cases of representations i. e. one of the word-final and word-initial phoneme is represented by anyone of them as the case may be. e.g. *māti* & *Imli*. Here /*Imli*/ is represented by /*mli*/ giving the resultant combination as /*mətImli*/ 'much tamarind.'

These alternations occur word-finally within the phrase. The phrase-final alternations involve intonational morphemes being an axis of prosodic features. The border between two words constitutes a potential pause point. The features occurring at the prejunctural position are correlated with the differences between the forms in rapid and the forms in deliberate speech. The articulation in the forms in rapid speech is characterised by the types of sandhi occurring between two words while in the deliberate speech, the isolated forms of words occur. In rapid speech the most common features of word juncture occur in rapid crescendo. In very fast speech, the postnuclear syllable of the second constituent in the composition occurs as one portmanteau syllable. In the examples of vowel-sandhi the syllable represents a coalescing of two syllables—the first being coda and atonic and the second as onset and bearing a tone—into a syllable between successive words.

The types of alternations are described here as follows :

2.21 Alternations in consonants

According to Dr. S. K. Chatterji, "There is Regressive assimilation when stops (or affricates) and aspirates of the same class occur side by side, by the first sound acquiring or losing voice according as the second one in the group possesses or does not possess it ; and the first sound, if it is an aspirate, loses its aspiration."¹ This statement is applicable in this dialect in the following patterns :

I. Voiceless final C and voiced C in the beginning of the word result in regressive assimilation as :

/ p / → / b / gāp & bāri > gābbāri 'big talk'

1. Chatterji, p. 450.

/ t / → / d /	māt & dās	>	māddās	'give advice, do not show'
/ t / → / d /	kāt & dālia	>	kāddālia	'cut the branch (of tree)'
/ c / → / j /	sāc & jā	>	sājja	'go truly'
/ k / → / g /	Īk & grā	>	Iggrā	'one morsel'.

II. Deaspiration of the final C occurring before voiceless C :

/ ph / → / p /	sāph & pāni	>	sāppani	'clear water'
/ th / → / t /	sāth & tēra	>	sāttera	'your company'
/ ṭh / → / ṭ /	āṭh & ṭāllu	>	āṭṭāllu	'eight pieces of cloth'
/ ch / → / c /	rĪch & cāllada	>	rĪccāllada	'bear is going'
/ kh / → / k /	kākh & kūṛa	>	kākkūṛa	'straw (and) rubbish'.

III. Aspirate final C occurs in assimilative voicing before a voiced C :

/ ph / → / b /	sāph & bāl	>	sābbāl	'speak clearly'
/ th / → / d /	hāth & dās	>	hāddās	'show hand'
/ ṭh / → / d /	āṭh & dāle	>	āḍḍāle	'eight branches (of a tree)'
/ ch / → / j /	rĪch & jāgga	>	rĪjjagga	'bear rose'
/ kh / → / g /	sakh & gēa	>	sāgga	'relation went (broken off)'.

IV. Deaspiration of the final C occurring before voiceless C :

/ ph / → / p /	sāph & phāṛāka	>	sapphāṛāka	'clean piece of cloth'
/ th / → / t /	sāth & thā	>	sāttha	'company was'
/ ṭh / → / ṭ /	āṭh & ṭhāppe	>	āṭṭhāppe	'eight moulds'
/ ch / → / c /	pūch & chāḍḍi	>	pūcchāḍḍi	'tail left'
/ kh / → / k /	dākh & khā	>	dākkha	'eat grape'.

V. Voiced final C occurring before a voiceless ^ˈC :

/ b / → / p /	só b & prāthna	>	səpprāthna	'all prayer'
/ d / → / t /	hā d & tēri	>	hātteri	'boundary yours'
/ d / → / t /	bó d & tūk	>	bōtṭūk	'cut (and) cut (in pieces), slaughter'
/ j / → / c /	rā j & cālla	>	rāccalla	'Raj moved'
/ g / → / k /	rā g & kāṭṭi	>	rākkṭṭi	'vein was cut'.

VI. Assimilation before /s/

/ t / → / s /	sāt & sō	>	sāssō	'seven hundred'
/ r / → / s /	cār & sō	>	cāssō	'four hundred'.

VII. Final and initial /r/ coalesce into one :

hōr & ró	>	horó	'weep more'
mār & rób	>	marób	'show influence'.

2.22 Alternations in vowels

The identical final and initial nuclei coalesce into one :

mēti & Imli	>	mētimli	'much tamarind'
sāre & ēkka	>	sārekka	'all unity'
dīna & āea	>	dīnaea	'Dina came'
nāro & ōldi	>	nāroldi	'Naro mingles (food)'.

2.3 Tonal alternations

2.31 Alternation without displacement in the base :

2.311 / - / → / ' /

Mid tone displaced from base to suffix and replaced by high tone :

gā (~gó)	-r	gór	'cattle-shed'
gyār	-ĩ	gyárĩ	'eleventh (F.)'
gyār	-Uā	gyárUā	'eleventh (M.)'

Likewise : bārī *	'twelfth (F.)',	térī	'thirteenth (F.)' etc.
trē	-o	tréo	'all three'
cār	-o	cáro	'all four'
dō	-e	dóe	'both'
dō (~du)	-~	dǔ	'both (Agentive sg.)'
dō (~dú)	-r/a	dúr/a	'two fold'
trē (~trí)	-r/a	trír/a	'three fold'
cār (~có)	-r/a	cór/a	'four fold'.

2.32 Tone of base displaced to suffix

2.321 / ` / low tone displaced from base to suffix

cír (~cr) (Sub.)	-olli	cròlli	'locality of watermen'
tì (~ty) (Sub.)	-otr/i	tyòtr/i	'daughter's daughter'
tír (~tr) (Sub.)	-as	tràs	'consolation'
pĭkkh (~pəkh) (Sub.)	-ari	pəkhàri	'beggar'
kĭrth (~kərth) (Sub.)	-olli	kərthòlli	'locality of <i>Ghirath</i> , a caste'
kèr (~kər) (V.)	-a	kərà	'besiege (Caus.)'
pən (~pən) (Sub.)	-oa	pənòa	'sister's husband'
pəṇḍ (~pəṇḍ) (Sub.)	-ari	pəṇḍàri	'treasurer'
kəṛ (Sub.)	-ollu	kəṛòllu	'pitcher (diminutive)'
kər (~kr) (Sub.)	-et	krèt	'kinsman'
tò (~tU) (V.)	-ani	tUàni	'water-washings'
còl (~cəl) (V.)	-a	cəlà	'fan (Caus.)'
còl (~cəl) (V.)	-o	cəlò	'fan (potential)'
pŭl (~pəl) (V.)	-a	pəlà	'forget (Caus.)'
pŭl (~pəl) (V.)	-o	pəlò	'forget (Potential)'
pṇḍ (~pəṇḍ) (Sub.)	-or	pəṇḍòr	'bee-hive'.

2.322 / - / mid tone displaced from base to suffix

kār	-a	kārā	'do (Caus.)'
cāl	-o	cālō	'move (Potential)'.

2.323 / ' / high tone displaced from base to suffix

dá (≈d) (V.)	-Ua	dUá	'spread a cot (Caus.)'
gó (≈g) (V.)	-Ua	gUá	'climb (Caus.)'.

2.33 Tone of base displaced to suffix and replaced

2.331 / - / → / ` /

Mid tone is displaced from base to suffix and is replaced by low tone :

hātth (≈th)	-ya	thya	'handle (V.)'
hātth (≈th)	-yar	thyar	'weapon'
hātth (≈th)	-yaḷi	thyaḷi	'palm'
hār (≈r) (Adj.)	-yaḷi	ryaḷi	'greenness, a festival'
khā (V.)	-o	khò	'eat (Potential)'.

Note : The last one in a verbal form is a solitary example available in the data.

2.332 / - / → / ' /

Mid tone is displaced from base to suffix and is replaced by high tone :

gāt	-ollu	gātóllu	'small pit, dimple'.
-----	-------	---------	----------------------

2.333 / ' / → / ` /

High tone is displaced from base to suffix and is replaced by low tone :

chínj (≈chənj) (Sub.)	-oṭṭi	chənjòṭṭi	'a song peculiar in the hills'
khínd (≈khənd) (Sub.)	-ollu	kbəndòllu	'sheet of tattered clothes'

khél (∼khəl) (V.)	-a	khə̀là	'play (Caus.)'
ré (∼r) (V.)	-a	rà	'live (Caus.)'
sánj (Sub.)	-yallu	sə̀njyàllu	'dinner'
páṛ (V.)	-a	pə̀rə	'read (Caus.)'
cáṛ (V.)	-a	cə̀rə	'climb (Caus.)'
páṛ (V.)	-o	pə̀rò	'read (Potential)'
cáṛ (V.)	-o	cə̀rò	'climb (Potential)'
sád (∼səd) (Sub.)	-ə̀ngi	sə̀də̀ngi	'practice of a mendicant'
bót (∼bət) (Sub.)	-er/a	bə̀tə̀r/a	'more'
khól (∼khəl) (V.)	-a	khə̀là	'open (Caus.)'
dŪd (∼dəd) (Sub.)	-unnu	də̀dūnnu	'milk pot'
bŪjru (∼bəjr) (Sub.)	-ɛ̀n	bə̀jrɛ̀n	'painter (F.)'
bŪḍ (∼bəḍ) (Adj.)	-appa	bə̀ḍappa~bə̀rappa	'old age'.

Note : I. In composition the high tone of the second constituent disappears as illustrated in § 2.0 (1. b).

II. In the phrase-final position the tone is subservient to the style of speech as illustrated in § 1.4261.

2.4 Other alternations

The word transition in phonological phrases occurs as described by means of the following patterns :

2.41 Permitted sequences and vowel gradation

(a) between / i / and / e / :

/ Isri / but / rāmesri / 'Rāmeshvari, a female given name'

(b) between / U / and / o / :

/ Ūḍɛ / but / sūrjodɛ / 'Sun-rising'.

The striking phonetic modification occurs in the following examples where the two words coalesce typically :

sōm	&	bār	sUār	'Monday'
cārṇ	&	āmṛIt	cārṇāmt	'foot-nectar'
gō	&	mūttar	gūntar	'cow-urine'.

2.42 Suppletion

ja	'go'	but	gēa	'go (perf. M. sg.)'.
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2.43 Metathesis

/ Īk / → / kĪ /	Īk	-ṭh/a	kĪṭṭh/a	'assembled (Adj.)'
/ Ūḍ / → / ḍŪ /	Ūḍ	-a	ḍUā	'fly (Caus.)'
/ Ūṭh / → / ṭhŪ /	Ūṭh	-a	ṭhUā	'rise (Caus.)'
/ kāp / → / pāk /	kāpṛ	-en	pākṛen	'smell of burning cloth'.

2.44 Syncopation

kāri ho	kārō	'to be able to do'
cālli ho	cālō	'to be able to move'
dīkkhi ho	dākhō	'to be able to see'.

Such an equivalence is maintained by syncopation of more than one syllable.¹ These both forms occur in free variation as to be described in § 4.201.

2.45 Grammatically conditioned or contrasting variants

Īk	'one'	but	pēll'a	'first'
pānj	'five'	but	pāndra	'fifteen'.

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In morphology the word classes are described in the resulting units by 'processes and devices'. The morphemes enter into combinations so as to form words according to some patterns. There are two morphological categories :

I. Derivational category and II. Inflectional category.

I. *Derivational category*

The words containing affixes are derivatives. These derivatives contain an affix as one immediate constituent. The process from morpheme to stem is :

(a) *Derivation by prefixes*

i. Substantive forming prefixes :

{ ǝŋ-bǝŋ } 'discord'.

ii. Adjective forming prefixes :

{ ǝŋ-jǝŋ } 'unknown'.

(b) *Derivation by suffixes*

i. Substantive forming suffixes : { mǎl-k } 'master'.

ii. Adjective forming suffixes : { rǎt-k } 'nocturnal'.

iii. Adverb forming suffixes : { pǎc-ǎ } 'behind, after'.

iv. Verb forming suffixes :

Denominatives : { sǎrm-ǎ } 'blush'

Causal, simple : { kǎr-ǎ } 'do'

Causal, double : { kǎr-Uǎ } 'do'

Potential : { kǎr-ō } 'do'.

(c) *Derivation by phoneme substitution*

- i. V. int. & phoneme substitution \rightarrow V.t. :
 $/ə/ \rightarrow /a/ \{ mār \} \text{ 'die' } : \{ mār \} \text{ 'beat' }.$
- ii. V. & phoneme substitution \rightarrow substantive :
 $/I/ \rightarrow /e/ \{ mĪl \} : \{ mēl \} \text{ 'meet' }.$

(d) *Reduplicatives*

These consist of two phonemically identical syllables :

- i. without internal alternation :
 $\{ bō bō \} \text{ '(barking of a dog)' },$
- ii. with alternation of the vowel in the reduplicator :
 $\{ chūchá \} \text{ 'touch (etc.)' }.$

Note : Mostly these reduplicative morphemes have onomatopoeic meaning or belong to expressive vocabulary.

(e) *Composition*

The composition consists of a sequence of two or more immediate constituents :

$\{ bāṇmāṇu \} \text{ 'jungle-man' }.$

Here the corresponding phrase is with $\{ d/a \}$ as :

$\{ bāṇeda māṇu \} \text{ 'jungle's man' }.$

II. *Inflectional category*

The stems are classified in two main categories :

(a) nominals and (b) verbals. The others remaining are the particles :

(a) *Nomials*. These are divided into substantives, adjectives and pronouns, and are inflected for number and case with the assigned gender. In pronouns the gender is variable.

(b) *Verbals*. The roots from which verbs can be formed occur in two major classes :

- i. Transitives : $\{ mār \} \text{ 'beat' }.$
- ii. Intransitives : $\{ mār \} \text{ 'die' }.$

The uniform structure of a verb is: stem and mode morpheme and GNP. In some forms the categories of person and number occur as combined in the same morpheme.

(c) *Particles*. The term is used for a number of uninflected words. These are distinguished by the syntax. These include: i. interjections, ii. vocatives, iii. postpositions, iv. emphatics, v. conjunctions, vi. adverbs and vii. negatives. These will be described in § 4.

It is worthy to note here that the sub-syllabic morphemes are tonal consisting of a tone alone and mixed of other structure¹:

i. { já } 'go (imp. 2nd. sg.)': { jā } 'go (imp. 2nd pl.)'.

ii. Nasalisation as a morpheme:

{ jã } 'go (Contingent 1st sg.)'.

3.1 Stem formation: affixes in categories and sequences

The stems are formed by the derivational processes. Generally these processes are productive. There are some typically sporadic and quasi-productive processes which are indicated by * asterisks wherever these occur.

Mainly the processes are of the following types:

i. noun as a nucleus, ii. verb as a nucleus and iii. adverb as a nucleus.

The wealth in the data is represented by the nouns which include: substantives, adjectives and pronouns. The substantives occur as nucleus in a large number of the formation.

In some cases the resultant substantives and adjectives derived by a common suffix are determined by the context. Here it is worthy to quote Rastorgueva, "The line between nouns and adjectives cannot always be drawn clearly in the area of derivation either. Together

1. "We sometimes find that the so-called morphological tones accompanying particular segmental sequences constitute morphemes in their own right... The tones of verbs have independent status as morphemes." Nida, p. 269.

with special means of derivation, characteristic only to nouns (e.g. the suffixes of place -stan, -zar, -sar, -lax, -dan; the suffixes of actor -ger, -gar, -kar, -ci etc.) and only of adjectives (e.g. the suffixes -in, -gin, and others), there are means of derivation common to nouns and adjectives (e.g. the compounding of a substantive with a verbal present stem of the type *delroba* 'charming and charmer', the compounding of two substantive stems of the type *sirdel* 'brave' and 'braveman', the suffixes -e, -mēnd, -umēnd and others)."¹

The formations of stems occur with a single prefix and one suffix to six suffixes as illustrated by the following examples:

Nucleus as a verb :	{ sāj }	'decorate'
first suffix	{ -a } { sājā }	'(Caus.)'
second suffix	{ -b } { sājāb }	'decoration'
third suffix	{ -t } { sājābt }	'decoration'
fourth suffix	{ -i } { sājābtī }	'decorative'
fifth suffix	{ -pən } { sājābtīpən }	'decorative quality'
sixth suffix	{ -a } { sājābtīpāna }	'decorative quality' and
prefix	{ bə- } { besājābtīpāna }	'non-decorative quality'.

{ } the morphophonemic braces are left understood henceforward.

I. *Categories.*

A summary list is presented here to enumerate the very productive suffixes in the following categories:

i. *Feminine markers*

-i is very productive suffix which occurs with substantives, adjectives and verbs. The other common ones are: -ni, -ni, -ən, -a, -ani, -əni, -o.

ii. *Masculine markers*

-a is very productive suffix. It also occurs with substantives, adjectives and verbs. The other common ones are: -i, -u, -o.

1. Rastorgueva, p 17.

iii. *Size markers*(a) *Diminutives.*

-u is very productive added mostly to the suffixes -ŋ, -n, -l. It occurs in alternation with the vowels mostly with a- and i-.

(b) *Magnitatives*

-a occurs in alternation mostly with the feminine marker -i.

iv. *Kinship markers*

-j, -ya, -aŋi, -ie, -Uttər, -ei, -er, -és, -oa, -oi, -óra.

v. *Possessives*

-k, -gŋr, -ci, -ta, -dan-, -dar, -bənti, -man, -yar, -əŋgi, -ai, -ar, -i, -ua.

vi. *Qualitatives*

-ta, -pəŋ, -yaŋ, -yaŋi, -yas, -an, -ab, -abŋ, -as, -it, -éŋ, -éŋd, -es.

vii. *Quantitatives*

-ti, -ra, -la, -yath, -eŋ, -otŋa.

viii. *Numerals*

-k, -kər, -tŋ, -th, -r, -sər, -a, -ai, -i, -ia, -Uă, -e, -ē, -o.

ix. *Directionals*

-ă, -ia, -iē, -ē, -i.

x. *Adjectivals*

-k, -kŋ, -kar, -gar, -ŋ, -sar, -ər, -əŋ, -a, -akər, -ap, -abŋi, -au, -i, -in, -il, -ia, -u.

II. *Sequences*i. *Sequence of two suffixes*

(a) The resultant combination in substantives :

-a, -k ;	-a, -n ;	-a, -b ;
-a, -r ;	-ŋ, -əb ;	-nd, -ək.

(b) The resultant combination in adjectives :

-k, -n ;	-ək, -ər ;	-e, -tər ;
-ε, -r ;	-o, -d.	

ii. *Sequence of three suffixes*

(a) The resultant combination in substantives :

-a, -b, -t ;	-a, -m, -t ;
-a, -r, -u ;	-ot, -r, -u.

(b) The resultant combination in adjectives :

-a, -k, -ər ;	-a, -k, -əl ;
-U, -a, -l ;	-o, -d, -ər.

This is a sketch designed to cover a bare minimum classification of the suffixes which occur in the forms with the lexically and phonologically conditioned alternants. Such a type of classification of derivational affixes into restrictive and governing conditions is not always useful. Hockett points out, "The major part of speech affiliation of a derivative may be determined in one way, the membership of the derivative in one or another subsidiary stem-class in another."¹

To exhaust the possibility of affixes the complete description of the occurrences in the dialect will be a long range process of the study. It is preferred to give a list of available prefixes and suffixes arranged in the alphabetic order of consonants and vowels as in Devanāgarī under the major classes. The morphophonemic alternations of the segments and suprasegments before the suffixes are not repeated in the list as these have been described in § 2. The quasi-productive suffixes are also given here in order to justify a relative neglect of these in the formations as it is difficult to predict that these are dead elements. The observations of Hall are noteworthy in this connection. According to him, "there is no limit to the extent to which an apparently "dead" derivational element may be suddenly and quite capriciously "resurrected" and become productive. Hence, for describing the state of affairs at any given moment, there is no alternative to a complete, exhaustive listing of all the complicated peculiarities in the privileges of occurrence of every derivational element."²

1. Hockett, p. 244.

2. Hall, p. 183.

3.11 Derivational prefixes

3.111 Substantive forming prefixes

3.1111 Nucleus as a substantive

	Prefix	&	Sub.	Resultant Sub.
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kə-			'bad'	
-----	--	--	-------	--

kə-	sāgn	kəsāgn	'ill omen'
-----	------	--------	------------

Likewise : kəṭhār 'bad place', kəbəl 'bad time'.

dər-			'in, indeed'
------	--	--	--------------

dər-	khāst	dərkhāst	'application'
------	-------	----------	---------------

Likewise : dārsəl 'in reality'.

dŪr-			'bad'
------	--	--	-------

dŪr-	gŪn	dŪrgŪn	'blemish'
------	-----	--------	-----------

Likewise : dŪrjən 'wicked person'.

n-			'negative'
----	--	--	------------

n-	ərth	nərth	'misfortune'
----	------	-------	--------------

pə-			'(in the sense of contrary)'
-----	--	--	------------------------------

pə-	mān	pə mān	'insult'.
-----	-----	--------	-----------

Likewise : pərád 'offence'.

pəṭ-			'(in the sense of remoteness)'
------	--	--	--------------------------------

pəṭ-	dāddu	pəṭdāddu	'father of father's father'.
------	-------	----------	------------------------------

Likewise : pəṭnānnu 'father of mother's father.'

pər-			'(in the sense of other)'
------	--	--	---------------------------

pər-	lök	pərlök	'other world'
------	-----	--------	---------------

Likewise : pərdēs 'foreign country'.

pər-			'around'
------	--	--	----------

pər-	kārma	pərkārma	'circumambulation'.
------	-------	----------	---------------------

pər-			'(in the sense of pervasiveness)'
------	--	--	-----------------------------------

pər-	lē	pərlē	'dissolution'
------	----	-------	---------------

Likewise : pərcār 'publicity'.

	Prefix	&	Sub.		Resultant Sub.
bə-					'negative'
	bə-		rāg	bərāg	'renunciation'
	Likewise : bəjōg 'separation'.				
sə-					'well'
	sə-		bēl	səbēl	'good time'
	Likewise : səpŪttar 'good son'.				
sən-					'(in the sense of connection)'
	sən-		jōg	sənjōg	'good opportunity'
	Likewise : santōs 'satisfaction'.				
sər-					'head'
	sər-		pōnc	sərpōnc	'president of jurors'
	Likewise : sərtāj 'crownhead', sərñōā 'superscription, address'.				
sU-					'good'
	sU-		phāḷ	sŪphāḷ	'good fruit, result'
	Likewise : sUrāj 'self or good government'.				
ə-					'negative'
	ə-		gyān	əgyān	'ignorance'.
əp-					'bad'
	əp-		jōs	əpjəs	'infamy'
	Likewise : əpkār 'disfavour'.				
ɔ-					'bad'
	ɔ-		gŪṇ	ōgUṇ	'defect'.

3.1112 Nucleus as a verb

	Prefix	&	V.		Resultant Sub.
ən-					'negative'
	ən-		bāṇ	ənbaṇ	'discord'.

3.112 Adjective forming prefixes

3.1121 Nucleus as a substantive

	Prefix &	Sub.	Resultant Adj.
kə-			'bad'
	kə-	rūp	kərup 'ugly'
	Likewise : kəmārgi 'bad character'.		
dU-			'negative'
	dU-	bāl	dUbl/a 'weak'.
nə-			'negative'
	nə-	pəsənd	nəpəsənd 'unpleasant'
	Likewise : nərōg 'free from disease'.		
bə-			'negative'
	bə-	cēn	bəcēn 'restless'
	Likewise : bəsōrm 'shameless'.		
bə-			'by virtue of'
	bə-	dōlt	bədōlt 'by virtue of richness'.
be-			'negative'
	be-	jān	bejān 'lifeless'
	Likewise : bēiman 'dishonest', bēphlkr 'care-free'.		
la-			'negative'
	la-	pərbá	lapərbá 'negligent'
	Likewise : lācar 'helpless', lāpəta 'unknown'.		
ə-			'negative'
	ə-	sār	əsār 'insubstantial'.
əṇ-			'negative'
	əṇ-	gṛṇt	əṇgṛṇt 'uncounted'.

3.1122 Nucleus as an adjective

Prefix	&	Adj.	Resultant Adj.
nə-			'negative'
nə-		lēk	nəlēk 'unfit'.
pər-			'(in the sense of other)'
pər-		tìn	pərtìn 'dependent'.

3.1123 Nucleus as a verb

Prefix	&	Verb.	Resultant Adj.
nə-			'negative'
nə-		ḍār	nəḍār 'fearless'.
ən-			'negative'
ən-		jān	ənjān 'unknown'.

3.113 Adverb forming prefixes**3.1131 Nucleus as a substantive**

Prefix	&	Sub.	Resultant Adv.
be-			'negative'
be-		tēm	beṭēm 'lately, not in time'.

1.1132 Nucleus as an adjective

Prefix	&	Adj.	Resultant Adv.
bīl-			'all'
bīl-		kŪl	bīlkŪl 'all'.

3.12 Derivational suffixes**3.121 Substantive forming suffixes****3.1211 Nucleus as a substantive**

-k			'(indicating some sort of connection)'
Sub.	&	Suffix	Resultant sub.
māl		-k	mālk 'master'

Likewise: māk 'death-rite after one month', bālk 'child',
sēbk 'servant'.

	Sub.	&	Suffix	Resultant	Sub.
	-k/u		'(diminutive)'		

tòl -k/u tòlk/u 'drum'

Likewise : jŪtk/u 'shoe', lōtk/u 'pot for drinking',
pēthk/u 'a kind of gourd'.

-k/i	māl	-k/i	malk/i	'ownership'
------	-----	------	--------	-------------

Likewise : lōtk/i 'pot for drinking (F.)', cātk/i 'pitcher (F.)'.

-kar	phōn	-kar	phəṅkār	'hissing of a snake'
------	------	------	---------	----------------------

Likewise : jēkār 'vivo', kroṭkār 'Karot, a village in Hamirpur'.

-kar/a	jē	-kar/a	jēkār/a	'vivo'
--------	----	--------	---------	--------

Likewise : skókar/a 'Sakoh, a village in Palampur Tahsil'.

phəṅkār/a 'hissing of a snake'.

Note : -kar and -kar/a suffixes are attached to the place names, if announced in the morning. Otherwise it is considered bad omen in the valley.

-khor/i	rīsbət	-khōr/i	rīsbətkhōr/i	'bribe-taking (F.)'
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Likewise : cuglkhōr/i 'back biting', ràmkhor/i 'illegitimacy'.

-gar	jād	-gār	jadgār	'memorial (F.)'.
------	-----	------	--------	------------------

-gar/i	jād	-gār/i	jadgār/i	'memorial (F.)'
--------	-----	--------	----------	-----------------

Likewise : rojgār/i 'business (F.)'.

-gġr	jādu	-gġr	jadugġr	'magician'
------	------	------	---------	------------

Likewise : karigġr 'artisan'.

-gġr/i	jādu	-gġr/i	jadugġr/i	'magic'
--------	------	--------	-----------	---------

Likewise : bədgġr/i 'practice of a physician', sədagġr/i, 'business'.

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-g/i	pəsənd	-g/i	pəsəndg/i 'likeness'

Likewise : bēng/i 'an elastic pole (with strings hanging on each end which is kept on the shoulder for carrying weights on both sides', jīndg/i 'life'.

-c/a	dēg	-c/a	dēgc/a 'caldron'.
-c/i	nəgār	-c/i	nəgārc/i 'drummer'.

Likewise : khəjānc/i 'treasurer'. təbālc/i 'tambourine player',
məsālc/i 'cook's assistant'.

-car/a	mīttər	-car/a	'mīttərcār/a 'friendship'
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Likewise : pāicar/a 'fraternity'.

* -j	kār	-j	kārj 'ceremony'.
------	-----	----	------------------

-j/a	pāu	-j/a	pətījj/a brother's son'
------	-----	------	-------------------------

Likewise : pānj/a 'sister's son'.

-j/u '(in the sense of endearment)'

pən	-j/u	pānj/u	'sister's son'
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Likewise : pətījj/u 'brother's son'.

* -t	drŪm	-t	drŪmt 'clod-crush'.
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-t/a	cōr	-t/a	cōrt/a 'thief'.
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-t/u	góa	t/u	gótt/u 'dried cowdung
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Likewise : pàrt/u 'small load'.

-ṛ	gā	-ṛ	gór 'cattle-shed'
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Likewise : bōṛ 'upper storey of house'.

-ṛ/a	cām	-ṛ/a	cāmṛ/a 'leather'
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Likewise : prāṛ/a 'a big wooden or metal kneading-trough',
līkr/a 'line'.

	Sub.	&	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-r/i	cām		-r/i	cāmṛ/i 'skin'
	Likewise : pākhr/i 'petal', jīndr/i 'life'.			
-r/u	prót		-r/u	prótr/u 'boy priest'
	Likewise : kōṭhr/u 'cupboard', māngṛ/u 'earthen pot'.			
-n/i	'(F. marker)'			
	sārp		-n/i	sārpṇ/i 'snake'
	Likewise : utṇ/i 'camel' bēdhṇ/i 'physician'			
-n/u	'(diminutive)'			
	sārp		-n/u	sārpṇ/u 'snake'.
-t	sāng		-t	sāngt 'company'.
	Likewise : jūgt 'management', bākalt 'advocacy'.			
-dan ¹	kālm		-dān	kālm dān 'inkstand'
	Likewise : phuldān 'flower-pot', khandān 'family'.			
-dan ²	sēs		-dān	sēs dān 'scientist'
	Likewise : kēnundān 'lawyer'.			
-dan/i	tùp		-dan/i	tùp dān/i 'incensory'
	Likewise : gēlabdān/i 'flower-pot' ētērdān/i 'perfume bottle'.			
-dar	jīmi		-dar	jīmi dār 'land holder'
	Likewise : cōkidār 'watchkeeper' ṭhāṇēdar 'sub-inspector of police'.			
-dar/i	jīmi		-dār/i	jīmi dār/i 'farming'.
-n/i	'(F. marker)'			
	mōr		-n/i	mōrn/i 'peahen'
	Likewise : sēr/i 'tigress'.			

Sub.	&	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-n/u '(diminutive)'			
	bār	-n/u	bār <u>n</u> /u 'fence'
Likewise : mōrn'/u 'peacock'.			
-nam/a	kŪrsi	-nam/a	kŪrsināmm/a 'geneological record'
Likewise : kārarnāmm/a 'deed', karnāmm/a 'action'.			
-nbis	ārji	-nbis	ārjinbis 'petition writer'
Likewise : nəkəlnbis 'copyist'.			
-pən '(indicating state, function, likeness, resembling)'			
	bāc	-pən	bācpən 'childhood'
Likewise : bākpən 'childhood'.			
-pən/a	bālk	-pən/a	bākpən/a 'childhood'.
-bənt/i	kŪl	-bənt/i	kŪlbənt/i 'woman of noble family'
Likewise : pŪttərbənt/i 'woman who begets a son'.			
-bənd	kām̄r	-bənd	kām̄rbənd 'girdle'
Likewise : blstərbənd 'hold-all, carpet bag'.			
-bənd/i	séra	-bənd/i	sérabəndd/i 'bridal chaplet ceremony'
Likewise : cəkbəndd/i } 'division of land with defined hədbəndd/i } boundaries'.			
* -bər	jān	-bər	jānbər 'animal'.
-baj/i	nəkl	-baj/i	nəklbājj/i 'mimicry'
Likewise : calbājj/i 'fraud', tòkkhebajj/i 'deception'.			
-baṇ	bāg	-baṇ	bāgbāṇ 'gardener'.
-ban/i	mér	-ban/i	mérbann/i 'kindness'
Likewise : bāgbann/i 'gardening'.			

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-mənd/i -bənd/i	əkkəl	-mənd/i -bənd/i	əkkəl məndd/i əkkəl bəndd/i } 'wisdom'.
-mət/i	bās	-mət/i	bāsmət/i 'kind of fragrant rice'.

-man	jāg	-man	jījman 'host in sacrifice'
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Likewise : blḍḍyaman 'oath by knowledge'.

-man/i	jāg	-man/i	jījmann/i 'office of the priest'.
-mē/i	jāl	-mē/i	jālmē/i 'deluge'.
-yà	sāl	-yà	sālyà 'wife of wife's brother'.
-yá	pōlla	-yá	pālyá ~ pālē 'shoe-beating'.

Likewise : chətryá ~ chətré 'shoe-beating', dāḍḍyá ~ dāḍḍé 'cudgel-beating'.

* -yaṭ	chēlli	-yaṭ	chālyāṭ ~ chālṭ 'bread of maize'.
* -yāṭh	cāṇḍəṇ	-yāṭh	cāṇyāṭh 'stone for sandal paste'.
* -yāṭh/i	cāṇḍəṇ	-yāṭh/i	cāṇyāṭṭh/i 'piece of sandal wood'.
-yar	hātth	-yar	thýār 'weapon'

Likewise : sānyār 'goldsmith', pāṇyār 'place of drinking water'.

* -yar/a	kà	-yar/a	kāsyār/a 'grass cutter'.
-yal/u	sānj	-yal/u	sānjyāll/u 'dinner'

Likewise : dātyāll/u 'breakfast'.

-yaḷ	kəṇṭ	-yaḷ	kāṇtyāḷ 'gong'.
-yaḷ/i	hātth	-yaḷ/i	thyāḷ/i 'palm'

Likewise : kəṇḍyāḷ/i 'tuber, a vegetable like potato'.

	Sub.	&	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
	-r	jūa	-r	jUār 'gambling'

Likewise : gór 'a path between fences leading to a hamlet'.

* -r/a	dé	-r/a	dér/a	'temple'.
* -r/i	dé	-r/i	dér/i	'temple of ancestors'.
-r/i	jūa	-r/i	jUār/i	'gambler'.

Likewise : bāsr/i 'flute', bāndr/i 'carpet made of hay'.

-r/u	gáb	-r/u	gábr/u	'young person'
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Likewise : bāsr/u 'flute player', 'a male given name'.

* -rn	gā	-rn	górñ	'cattle-shed'.
-l/a	cāk	-l/a	cāk /a	'pastry-board'

Likewise : tāk|/a 'spindle of a spinning wheel', ɖəp|/a 'drum'.

-l/i	sūt	-l/i	sūt /i	'thread, yarn'
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Likewise : pōt|/i 'bundle'.

-l/u '(diminutive)'

pōt	-l/u	pōt /u	'bundle'
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Likewise : phāgl|/u 'a kind of bamboo', pāt|/u 'leaf for keeping edibles'.

-s	hŪm	-s	hŪms	'warmness'
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Likewise : tāms 'heat'.

-saj/i	jāl	-sāj/i	jālsajj/i	'forgery'
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Likewise : kəṛisajj/i 'watch-making'.

-sar	pyàg	-sar	pyàgsar	'morning'.
-sar/a	pyàg	-sar/a	pyàgsar/a	'morning'.
-sar/i	bērtən	-sar/i	bērtənsar/i	'dealing, custom'

Likewise : mīl̥nsar/i 'sociability'.

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-ər	drāph	-ər	drāpphər 'pimple'

Likewise : kŪppər 'long face', pəggər 'turban'.

-ən '(F. marker)'

sənyās	-ən	sənyāssən 'nun'
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Likewise : sōkkən 'cowife', sŪkkhən 'prayer'.

-əng/i	bēd	-əng/i	bədəng/i 'practice of a physician'
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Likewise : cələng/i ~ sədəng/i 'practice of a mendicant'.

-əl	khāb	-əl	khābbəl 'a kind of grass'
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Likewise : sāngəl 'chain', pŪbbəl 'ash'.

* -and	pāni	-and	pənyənd 'place of water'.
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-a	gīt	-a	gīta 'Gītā, sacred book'.
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Likewise : sīta 'a female given name', rāmma 'a male given name'.

-ai	pānt	-ai	pəntāi ~ pəntyāi 'learning'
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Likewise : bŪai 'father's sister's spouse', təlāi 'small tank'.

* -at	kār	-at	krāt 'water-mill'.
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* -ar	lāt	-ar	lētār 'insult'.
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* -ar/a	bāt	-ar/a	bātār/a 'mason'.
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-an	tārkh	-an	tārkhān 'carpenter'
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Likewise : tyān 'married daughter'.

-an/i	jēth	-an/i	jēthāni 'husband's elder brother's wife'
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Likewise : drān/i 'husband's younger brother's wife, khətrān/i 'wife of Kshatriya'.

-an/a	kār	-an/a	krānn/a 'family'
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Likewise : rajpətānn/a 'Rajputana (Rajasthan)'.

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-ap/a	rāṇḍ	-ap/a	rāṇḍāpp/a 'widowhood'.
-ayt	pānc	-ayt	pāncāyt 'assembly'

Likewise : pālmāṇsayt 'gentlemanliness'.

-ar '(indicating profession)'

ló	-ar	lUār	'blacksmith'
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Likewise : cāmār 'shoemaker', kāmār 'potter'.

-ar/i	cīṅg	-ar/i	cāṅgār/i 'spark'
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Likewise : pākhāri 'beggar', pāṇḍār/i 'treasurer'.

-ar/u '(diminutive)'

tēl	-ar/u	tālār/u	'oil-pot'
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Likewise : cāmār/u 'shoemaker', lUār/u 'blacksmith'.

-arn '(F. marker)'

git	-arn	gātárn	'singer'
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Likewise : cāmārn 'shoemaker', pākhārn 'beggar'.

-a	kār	-a	krā	'cattle-shed'
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Likewise : dāndā| 'tool in agriculture'.

* -al	pār	-al	pārāl	'chaff'.
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-a /i	dīyya	-a /i	dyā /i	'Dīpamala, a festival'
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Likewise : gUā|/i 'cow-protection'.

-a|/u '(diminutive)'

gō	-a /u	gUā /u	'cowherd'
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Likewise : krā|/u 'cattle-shed, kāṅgrā|/u 'bell'.

-as	jāṇ	-as	jāṇās	'female'
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Likewise : trās 'consolation', pāṇās 'burning'.

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-as/a	dīl	-as/a	dālāss/a 'solace'

Likewise : dāndāss/a 'bark used for cleansing teeth'.

-i '(F. and M. marker)'

tēl	-i	tēll/i 'oil-man'
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Likewise : kāngṛ/i 'fire pot made in Kangra,' bāsākkh/i 'festival held in the first day of *Vaishakha* month'.

-ia	jāng	-ia	jāngia 'knee-breeches'
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Likewise : tōlia 'towel', dākia 'postman'.

-ie	sōr	-ie	sōrie 'spouse's parents'.
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-Uttar '(denoting kinship)'

jēth	-Uttar	jēthUttar 'son of husband's elder brother'
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Likewise : drUttar 'son of husband's younger brother,' skUttar 'son of cowife'.

-u '(diminutive)'

nāl	-u	nālū 'rivulet'
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Likewise : kUālū 'stonepath for ascent', tālū 'palate'.

-u/a	chōr	-u/a	chōru/a 'shadow'
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Likewise : bēdu/a 'a Brahmana caste', nēṭu/a 'dancer'.

* -uṭ	dīyya	-uṭ	dyūṭ 'lamp-stand'.
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* -un/u	dūd	-un/u	dādūnn/u 'milk pot'.
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* -e/i	māt	-e/i	mātē/i 'stepmother'.
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* -eṛ	pàṭ	-eṛ	pàṭeṛ 'locality of Bhatedu, a Brahmana caste'.
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* -eṛ/u	pàṭ	-eṛ/u	pàṭeṛ/u 'a Brahmana caste'.
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* -et	jāṇ	-et	jāṇēt 'marriage party'.
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	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
* -et/i	jāṇ	-et/i	jāṇētt/i 'marriage party man'.
* -t, -əṛ	jāṇ	-et, -əṛ	jāṇēttəṛ 'marriage party man'.
-er	mās	-er	māsēr 'son of mother's sister'

Likewise : mālēr 'son of mother's brother'.

* -er/u	pākh	-er/u	pākhēr/u 'bird'.
* -ern/a	gād	-ern/a	gādēr/a 'place of Gaddi tribe'.
-el	phŪl	-el	phālēl 'fragrant hair-oil'

Likewise : nākēl 'string fixed in nose'.

-es '(denoting kinship)'

dād	-és	dādés 'spouse's father's mother'
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Likewise : nānés 'spouse's mother's mother', mālés 'wife of spouse's mother's brother'.

-é	pōl	-é	pālé 'shoe-beating'
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Likewise : jāṭé 'shoe-beating,' pāthré 'stone-throwing'.

* -et	chāl	-et	chālēt ~ chālyāt 'bread of maize'.
* -et/a	chāl	-et/a	chālētṭ/a ~ chālyātṭ/a 'maize crop'.
* -et/i	sāppəṛ	-et/i	sāppētṭ/i 'rocky place'.
* -eṛ/a	lēs	-eṛ/a	lāsēṛ/a 'a kind of tree'.
* -éṛ/a	tāmb	-éṛ/a	tāmēṛ/a 'copper pot.'
* -eṇ	būjru	-eṇ	bājirēṇ 'painter (F.)',

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
* -εη/a	sīr	-εη/a	sṛεη/a 'pillow'.
-εη/i	'(F. marker)'		
	pānt	-εη/i	pāntεη/i 'learned woman'
Likewise :	pāεη/i	'woman of Bhata caste',	māstrεη/i
	'teacher (F.)'		
-εt	kār	-εt	krēt 'kinsman'
Likewise :	pāncēt	'jury'.	
-εt/i	ḍāk	-εt/i	ḍākēt/i 'robbery'.
-εt,-əṛ	khār	-εt,-əṛ	khārētṭəṛ 'grassy plot'
Likewise :	parētṭəṛ	'water carrier'.	
-εt,-əη	kār	-εt,-əη	krētṭəη 'kinswoman'.
* -én	kāpṛ	-én	kāpṛén ~ pākṛén 'smell of burning cloth'.
* -ér	khāṇḍ	-ér	khāṇḍér 'ruin'.
* -el	khāppar	-el	khāpṛēl 'tile'.
* -oa	pēṇ	-oa	pāṇōa 'sister's husband'.
* -oi	nāṇan	-oi	nāṇōi ~ nāṇḍōi 'husband of husband's sister'.
* -oi/a	sārp	-oi/a	sāpōlly/a ~ sāpōi/a 'young snake'.
* -ot/a	pār	-ot/a	pṛōṭṭ/a 'load'.
-ot/i	chĪnj	-ot/i	chānjōṭṭ/i 'a song peculiar in the hills'

Likewise : lāphōṭṭ/i 'quilt'.

-ot/u '(diminutive)'

pānd -ot/u pāndōṭṭ/u 'carpet'

Likewise : lāphōṭṭ/u 'quilt'.

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
* -or	pāttar	-or	pətrōr 'vegetable made of edible leaves'.
* -or/a	pāttar	-or/a	pətrōr/a 'cake of vegetable leaves'.
* -or/u	pāttar	-or/u	pətrōr/u 'small cake of vegetable leaves'.

-ot, -r/a tì -ot, -r/a tyòtr/a 'son of daughter'.

-ot, -r/i lĭkkhəṇ -ot, -r/i ləkhñōtr/i 'document'

Likewise : tyòtr/i 'daughter of daughter'.

-ot, -r/u sĭkkhəṇ -ot, -r/u səkhñōtr/u 'apprentice'

Likewise : tyòtr/u 'son of daughter (a term in endearment)'.

* -or pūṇḍ -or pəṇḍor 'beehive'.

-or/a '(denoting kinship)'

dād -or/a dādór/a 'father of spouse's father'

Likewise : mālór/a 'brother of spouse's mother', pətrór/a 'brother of spouse's father'.

-or, -ie dād -or, -ie dədórie 'home of spouse's father's mother'.

Likewise : məlórie 'home of spouse's mother'.

-ol/a khĭnd -ol/a khəndòll/a 'a sheet of tattered clothes'

Likewise : gətóll/a 'pit'.

-ol/i kĭrth -ol/i kərthòll/i 'locality of Ghirath caste'

Likewise : cròll/i 'locality of watermen'.

-ol/u '(diminutive)'

gāt -ol/u gətóll/u 'pit'

Likewise : khəndòllu 'sheet of tattered clothes'.

	Sub.	&	Suffix	Resultant	Sub.
-ol	pət		-ol	pətòl	'grain of cooked rice.'
-ol/i	pət		-ol/i	pətòl/i	'bit of cooked rice'.
-ol/u	pət		-ol/u	pətòl/u	'little bit of cooked rice.'
-ɔj/i	prà		-ɔj/i	pròjj/i	'brother's wife'.
-ɔɾ	gāp		-ɔɾ	gəpɔɾ	'long talk'.

3.1212 Nucleus as an adjective

	Adj.	&	Suffix	Resultant	Sub.
-k	pānj		-k	pānj ^k	'period of five inauspicious days in a month'.
-k/a	Īk		-k/a	Īkk/a	'number one in cards play'

Likewise : chĪkk/a 'sixth point', bār^k/a 'eldest son or a member of family'.

-k/i '(diminutive)'

dō	-k/i	dUkk/i	'number two in cards play'
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Likewise : chĪkk/i 'sixth point'.

-kəɾ '(denoting units)'

dō	-kəɾ	dUkkəɾ	'unit of two'
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Likewise : trĪkkəɾ~tĪkkəɾ 'unit of three'.

-g/i	lāl	-g/i	lālg/i	'redness'
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Likewise : spēdg/i 'whiteness', sād^g/i 'simpleness'.

-ɾ/a	nĪk	-ɾ/a	nĪkɾ/a	'youngest son, or a member in a family'.
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-t	khəlāph	-t	khəlāph ^t	'opposition'
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Likewise : sārāph^t 'gentlemanliness'.

	Adj. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-t/a	tīn	-t/a	tīnt/a 'dependence'
	Likewise : kōmlt/a 'tenderness', dint/a 'humility'.		
-t/i	jād	-t/i	jādt/i 'excess'
	Likewise : kāmt/i 'deficiency'.		
* -p	syāṇ	-p	syānp 'maturity, old age'.
* -p/a	syāṇ	-p/a	syānp/a 'old age'.
-pəṇ	gUār	-pəṇ	gUārpəṇ 'rusticity'
	Likewise : khārapəṇ 'nicety', āpnapəṇ 'relation'.		
-pəṇ/a	bāik	-pəṇ/a	bāikpəṇ/a 'childish'
	Likewise : syārəpəṇ/a 'cleverness'.		
-yaṭ	cīkṇ	-yaṭ	cākṇyāṭ 'grease'.
	Likewise : kəryāṭ 'bitterness'.		
* -ya /i	hār	-ya /i	ryā /i 'greenness'.
-yas	khāt	-yas	khātyās ~ khātēs 'sourness'
	Likewise : mātḥyās ~ mātḥēs 'sweetness'.		
-r	īk	-r	kūr 'onefold'
	Likewise : dūr 'twofold', trīr 'threefold'.		
* -sər	dō	-sər	düssər 'second point in playing of cards'.
-ai	cātr	-a/i	cātrā/i 'cleverness'
	Likewise : bəṛā/i 'greatness', gərmā/i 'warmth'.		
-an	cōṛ	-an	cəṛān 'width'
	Likewise : ləmān 'length'.		
-ap/a	bŪṛ	-ap/a	bəṛāpp/a 'old age'
	Likewise : mətāpp/a 'fatness'.		

	Adj. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-as	gārm	-as	gārmās 'heat'

Likewise : mæthās ~ mæthēs ~ mæthyās 'sweetness',
khætās ~ khætēs ~ khətyās 'sourness'.

* -i/a	sōl	-i/a	sóli/a 'sixteenth day rite of a dead'.
* -in, -pən	kōm	-in, -pən	kəminpən 'meanness'.
-it	nākl	-it	nəklit 'unreality'

Likewise : əslit 'reality', khəsit 'speciality'.

* -el	gōl	-el	gələl 'pellet bow'.
-ē	sāt	-ē	səttē 'seventh day of a lunar fortnight'

Likewise : ətthē 'eighth day of a lunar fortnight'.

* -et	əpn	-et	əpnēt 'relation'.
* -én	khəṭ	-én	khəṭén 'smell of sourness'.
* -énd	kēc	-énd	kəcénd 'smell of rawness'.
-es	phīk	-es	phəkēs 'vapidity'

Likewise : mæthēs ~ mæthyas ~ 'sweetness'.

3.1213 Nucleus as a verb

	V. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-φ	dār	-φ	dār 'fear'

Likewise : chān 'sieve', cām̄k 'lustre'.

-k	chīl	-k	chīlk ~ chīlk 'bark'
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Likewise : mītk 'wink', bēthk 'parlour'.

-k/a	chīl	-k/a	chīlk/a 'bark'
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Likewise : dābk/a 'threat'.

	V. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-k/i	pāl	-k/i	pal̥k/i 'palankeen'
Likewise : d̥Ūbk/i 'dive'.			
-k/u	bāṭh	-k/u	bāṭhk/u 'small carpet'.
-kar	chŪṭ	-kar	chāṭkār 'relief'.
-kar/a	chŪṭ	-kar/a	chāṭkār/a 'relief'.
-kar/i	jāṇ	-kar/i	jaṇkār/i 'knowledge'
Likewise : śámjkar/i 'knowledge'.			
-j	dē	-j	dāj 'dowry'.
-ṛ/i	rākh	-ṛ/i	rākhṛ/i 'sacred thread bound by sister'.
-ṇ	lē	-ṇ	lēṇ 'taking'
Likewise : dāṇ 'giving', gāṇ 'song'.			
-ṇ/a	sī	-ṇ/a	sīṇ/a 'sewing'
Likewise : khāṇ/a 'meal', gāṇ/a 'song'.			
-ṇ/i	'(F. marker)'		
	māl	-ṇ/i	mālṇ/i 'meet'
Likewise : hōṇ/i 'fate', kŪdṇ/i 'jumping'.			
-t	līkh	-t	līkht 'writing'
Likewise : páṛt 'reading', bāṇt 'shape'.			
-t/a	māṅg	-t/a	māṅgt/a 'beggar'
Likewise : dāt/a 'giver', kārt/a 'doer'.			
-t/i	gāl	-t/i	gāl̥t/i 'count'
Likewise : bāst/i 'locality', mŪgt/i 'salvation'.			

	V. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-t, -ər	byá	-t, -ər	byáttər 'marriage celebrator'

Likewise : príttər 'one who serves meal in a marriage'.

-t, -əb	kōr	-təb	kərtəb 'action'.
* -t, -ər	cáɾ	-t, -ər	cáɾtər 'offering'.
-n	mār	-n	mārn 'death'

Likewise : cáɾn 'ascent', tōrn 'gate'.

-n/a	páɾ	-n/a	páɾn/a 'reading'
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Likewise : chānn/a 'sieving', rānn/a 'composition'.

-n/i	kōr	-n/i	kōrn/i 'action'
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Likewise : bārn/i 'present of cloth', chānn/i 'sieve'.

-nd	jā	-nd	jānd 'going'
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Likewise : ōnd 'coming', khand 'eating'.

-nd, -k	jā	-nd, -k	jāndk 'going'
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Likewise : ōndk 'coming'.

* -p	nyàl	-p	nyàlp 'waiting'.
* -b/i	tò	-b/i	tòbb/i 'washer-man'.
* -b, -əɲ	tò	-b, -əɲ	tòbbəɲ 'washer-woman'.
* -b/a	chú	-b/a	chŪbb/a 'small rope'.
* -r/i	chāt	-r/i	chātr/i 'umbrella'.
* -rr	pətò	-r/ɾ	pətòrɾ 'mad'.
* -s	māɭ	-s	māɭs 'oil-bath'.
-ər	thəp	-ər	thəppər 'slap'

Likewise : t̪lkkər 'big bread'.

-əɲ	hīl	-əɲ	hīlləɲ 'earthquake'
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Likewise : bārtəɲ 'dealing'.

	V. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
* -ər	chāt	-ər	chāttər 'umbrella'.
-a	'(F. & M. marker)'		
	pūj	-a	pūja 'worship (F)'
	Likewise : bərtā 'treatment (M.)', ləgā 'attachment (M.)'.		
-a/i	līkh	-a/i	lākba/i 'writing'
	Likewise : kəṛā/i 'cauldron', bəjā/i 'music charges'.		
-a,-k	cēt	-a,-k	cəṭāk 'smack'
	Likewise : tərāk 'swimmer'.		
-a,-k/a	cēt	-a,-k/a	cəṭākk/a 'smack'
	Likewise : phəṛākk/a 'piece'.		
-a,-k/u	pār	-a,-k/u	pəṛākk/u 'student'
	Likewise : tərākk/u 'swimmer'.		
-a,-t	cīṇ	-a,-t	cəṇāt 'raised place'
	Likewise : kəbrāt 'perplexity', məskrāt 'smile'.		
-a,-t/a	kūl	-a,-t/a	kəḷātt/a 'wrestler'
	Likewise : phəṛāṭṭa 'swift turn'.		
-a,-t/i	kār	-a,-t/i	kəṛātt/i 'cauldron'.
-a,-t/u	'(diminutive)'		
	kār	-a,-t/u	kəṛātt'u 'cauldron'.
-a,-t/i	khél	-a,-t/i	khəlār/i~khəlār/i 'player'.
-a,-n	mīl	-a,-n	məlān 'match']
	Likewise : thəkān 'weariness', bəchan 'bed'.		
-a,-t	bārs	-a,-t	bərsāt 'rainy season'.
-a,-n	lāg	-a,-n	lāgan 'rent paid by a tenant'
	Likewise : cəlān 'charges of movement'.		

	V. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-a, -p	mĪl	-a, -p	mālāp 'meeting'.
-a, -b	jām	-a, -b	jāmāb 'accumulation'

Likewise : mālāb 'combination', cəṛāb 'rise'.

-a, -b/a	dĪkh	-a, -b/a	dəkhāb/a 'show'
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Likewise : bālāb/a 'call'.

-a, -b, -ṭ	mĪl	-a, -b, -ṭ	mālābṭ 'adulteration'
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Likewise : səjābṭ 'decoration'. bəṇābṭ 'structure'.

* -a, -m, -t	kār	-a, -m -t	kārāmt 'miracle'.
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* -a, -ma, -t	kār	-a, -ma, -t	kārāmat 'miracle'.
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-a, -r	cām̄k	-a, -r	cām̄kār 'glitter'
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Likewise : bəṇḍār ~ bəṇḍār/a ~ bəṇḍārU/a 'allocation'.

-a, -r/a	nĪpṭ	-a, -r/a	nəpṭār/a 'settlement'
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Likewise : cām̄kār/a 'glitter', bəṇḍār/a 'allocation'.

-a, -r/i	pūj	-a, -r/i	pəjār/i 'worshipper'
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Likewise : khəlār/i ~ khəlār̄/i 'player'.

-a, -r, -U, -a	rō	-a, -r, -U, -a	rUārU/a 'clamour'
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Likewise : bəṇḍārU/a ~ bəṇḍār/a ~ bəṇḍār 'allocation'.

-a, -l̄	rāk̄h	-a, -l̄	rāk̄hāl̄ 'safety'.
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-a, -l̄/i	rāk̄h	-a, -l̄/i	rāk̄hāl̄/i 'safety, work of herdsman'.
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-a, -l̄/u	jām	-a, -l̄/u	jāmāl̄/u 'hair-tonsering ceremony'.
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-i	bōl	-i	bōlli 'dialect, bid'.
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* -e/i	mān	-e/i	mānē/i 'ceremony in a marriage'.
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* -ekkh/a	pŪl	-ekkh/a	pālèkkh/a 'deception'.
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	V. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
* -eḍ/a	chāl	-eḍ/a	chālèḍḍ/a 'illusion'.
* -eṛ/a	māl	-eṛ/a	mālèṛ/a 'dough'.
* -er	cəṭ	-er	cəṭēr 'gluttony'.
-er/a	lŪṭ	-er/a	ləṭēr/a 'plunderer'.
-et/i	pāk	-et/i	pākēt/i 'settlement'.
-et, -əṛ	pār	-et, -əṛ	pārētṭəṛ 'water-woman'.
* -én	sāṛ	-én	sāṛén 'rotteness'.
* -el	rākh	-el	rākhēl 'kept wife'.
* -ō	bās	-ō	bāsō 'rest'.
-o	pār	-o	prō 'stand where water is provided'.
-o, -a	bās	-o, -a	bāsōa 'first day of <i>Vaishakha</i> month'

Likewise : prōa 'bridal attire'

-o, -ṭ	bāṇ	-o, -ṭ	bāṇōṭ 'structure'.
-o, -ṭ/u	pār	-o, -ṭ/u	prōṭṭ/u 'load'.
-o, -ṭ/i	kās	-o, -ṭ/i	kāsōṭṭ/i 'touchstone'
-ó, -ṛ	jāl	-ó, -ṛ	jālór 'jealousy'

Likewise : prór 'sweets distributed in a marriage'.

-o, -r	ṭāk	-o, -r	ṭākōr 'tap, stroke'
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Likewise : cəṭōr 'act of licking'.

-o, -l	pāk	-o, -l	pākōl 'bread prepared in oil or ghee'.
-o, -l/a	lŪk	-o, -l/a	lākōl/a 'niche'.
-o, -l/u	'(diminutive)'		

pāk	-o, -l/u	pākōl/u	'bread prepared in oil or ghee',
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Likewise : lākōl/u 'niche'.

	V. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-o, -r/a	pāk	-o, -r/a	pākōr/a 'pudding fried in oil'.
-o, -r/i	pāk	-o, -r/i	pākōr/i 'pudding prepared in curd'.
-o, -r/u	'(diminutive)'		
	pāk	-o, -r/u	pākōr/u 'pudding fried in oil'.
-o, -ṇ	pūj	-o, -ṇ	pājōṇ 'worship'

Likewise : lākōṇ 'concealment', prōṇ 'filling'.

-o, -ṇ/a	khél	-o, -ṇ/a	khəlōṇ/a 'plaything, toy'
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Likewise : prōṇ/a 'act of filling'.

-o, -t/a	sāmj	-o, -t/a	sāmjōtt/a 'compromise'.
-o, -t/i	kāt	-o, -t/i	kāṭōtt/i 'deduction'

Likewise : mōṇōtt/i 'agreement'.

3.1214 Nucleus as an adverb

	Adv. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-biṇ	dūr	-biṇ	dūrbīṇ 'telescope'.
-aṛ/a	pīcche	-aṛ/a	pāchyāṛ/a 'back part of a house'

Likewise : gyāṛ/a 'front part of a house'.

-aṛ/i	pīcche	-aṛ/i	pāchyāṛ/i 'back part of a house'
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Likewise : gyāṛ/i 'front part of a house'.

-aṛ/u '(diminutive)'

pīcche	-aṛ/u	pāchyāṛ/u	'back part of a house'
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Likewise : gUāṛ/u 'front part of a house'.

	Adv. &	Suffix	Resultant Sub.
-Uar	pīcche	-Uar	pāchUār 'back part of a house'

Likewise : gUār 'front part of a house'.

-ol	pār	-ol	prōl 'gate'.
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3.122 Adjective forming suffixes

3.1221 Nucleus as a substantive

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Adj.
-k/a	rāt	-k/a	rātk/a 'nocturnal'

Likewise : kāl̄k/a 'pertaining to yesterday or tomorrow',
Iūnk/a 'salty'.

-k, -n/a	rāt	-k, -n/a	rātkn/a 'nocturnal'
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Likewise : kālkn/a 'pertaining to yesterday or tomorrow'.

-kar	sālā	-kar	sālākar 'adviser'
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Likewise : kāstkar 'farmer'.

* -kh/a	nēr	-kb/a	nērkh/a 'dark'.
* -khā	grējji	-khā	grējji khā 'English speaker'.
-khor	cUgl	-khor	cUglkhōr 'telltale'

Likewise : sudkhōr 'usurer', rīsbātkhōr 'bribe taker'.

-gar	mōjt	-gar	mōjtgār 'helper'
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Likewise : gnāgar 'sinful'.

-gIr	jādu	-gIr	jādugIr 'magician'
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Likewise : kārigIr 'skilful' (For Sub. ref. p. 130).

-gin	gām	-gin	gāmgīn 'sorrowful'.
* -jər	grā	-jər	grānjər 'rustic'.
-jad/a	rām	-jad/a	rāmjad/a 'bastard'.

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Adj.
-təl	jū	-təl	jun̄təl 'lousy'.
-dan/i	khān	-dan/i	khandānn/i 'hereditary'.
-dar	māl	-dar	maldār 'wealthy'

Likewise: sāmjdār 'wise', māndār 'honest'.

-nak	khātr	-nak	khātrnāk 'dangerous'
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Likewise: dārdnāk 'painful'.

-bār	tāgt	-bār	tāgtbār, 'powerful'
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Likewise: jōrabār 'mighty'.

-baj	dāga	-baj	dāgebāj 'deceitful'
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Likewise: tōkkhebaj 'cheat', calbāj 'cunning'.

-ban	gŪn	-ban	gŪnbān 'meritorious'
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Likewise: pāgbān 'fortunate', mērbān 'kind'.

-bar	mēd	-bar	medbār 'expectant'
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Likewise: kāsurbār 'guilty'.

-bin	tāmās	-bin	tāmasbīn 'onlooker'.
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-mānd	ākkāl	-mānd	ākkālmānd
-bānd		-bānd	ākkālbānd

'wise'

Likewise: dōltmānd ~ dōltbānd 'rich'.

-l	kīrpa	-l	kārpāl 'merciful'
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Likewise: dyāl 'generous'.

-l/a	dūd	-l/a	dōdl/a 'milky'
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Likewise: jātl/a 'pertaining to a caste'.

-l/u '(diminutive)'

jāt	-l/u	jātl/u	'pertaining to a caste'.
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-saj	jāl	-saj	jālsaj 'deceiver'
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Likewise: kārīsaj 'watch-maker'.

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Adj.
-s	rāj	-s	rājs 'passionate'
	Likewise : tāms 'malignant'.		
-s/i	rāj	-s/i	rājs/i 'passionate'
	Likewise : tāms/i 'malignant'.		
-sar	sārm	-sar	sārmsār 'shameful'
	Likewise : milnsār 'friendly'.		
-ar	pŪkkh	-ar	pŪkkhər 'hungry'
	Likewise : rōndər 'weepy'.		
-ən	'(F. marker)'		
	kród	-ən	króddən 'angry (F.)'
	Likewise : gābbən 'pregnant'.		
* -əbbər	gāl	-əbbər	gələbbər 'talkative'.
-a	'(M. marker)'		
	pŪkkh	-a	pŪkkha 'hungry'
	Likewise : rŪkkha 'dried'.		
-an/a	mōrd	-an/a	mōrdānn/a 'manly'
	Likewise : mōstānn/a 'care-free', səlānn/a 'annual'.		
-an/i	sāl	-an/i	səlānn/i 'trekker'
	Likewise : jəsmānn/i 'corporeal'.		
-arn	gīt	-arn	gētārn 'singer(F.)'.
-al/u	pərm	-al/u	pərmāl/u 'doubtful'.
-aḷ	kŪngər	-aḷ	kəngṛaḷ 'curly'
	Likewise : jəmUaḷ 'belonging to Jammu'.		

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Adj.
-a /a	k'Ūngər	-a /a	kəngɾa /a 'curly-headed'.
-a /u	sərm	-a /u	sərmā /u 'shy'.
-Ind/a	sərm	-Ind/a	sərmInd/a 'ashamed'.
-i	kāngɾ	-i	kāngɾi 'belonging to Kangra'

Likewise : dēssi 'native', səjānpəri 'belonging to Sujānpur'.

-i/a	səjānpər	-i/a	səjānpəri/a 'belonging to Sujānpur'
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Likewise : nədōni/a 'belonging to Nadaun'.

-in	nəmk	-in	nəmkIn 'saltish'
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Likewise : rəngIn 'colourful', səkIn 'fondly'.

-in/i	pəsm	-in/i	pəsmInn/i 'woollen'
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Likewise : səkInn/i 'fond'.

-il/a	sŪr	-il/a	sɾill/a 'melodious'
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Likewise : pəthrill/a 'stony', jɾill/a 'poisonous'.

-Uā	nər	-Uā	nərŪā 'dark'
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Likewise : gərŪā 'redbrown'.

-Ua	tər	-Ua	tərUa 'belonging to vale, a Rajput class'.
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-Ua /a	mət	-Ua /a	mətUa /a 'intoxicated'.
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-u	bəjār	-u	bəjāru 'marketable'
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Likewise : khādḍu 'belonging to rivulet'.

-ət/i	pānc	-ət/i	pāncətt/i 'pertaining to an assembly'.
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-ér/a	sUnna	-ér/a	sənér/a 'golden'.
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-əl	pətt̪her	-əl	pəthr̪l 'stony'
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Likewise : səpr̪l 'sandy'.

-ɔɾ/i	gəp	-ɔɾ/i	-gəpō./i 'talkative'.
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3.1222 Nucleus as an adjective

	Adj.	&	Suffix	Resultant	Adj.
	-t̥h/a		Īk	-t̥h/a	kĪt̥h/a 'assembled'
	Likewise : chĪt̥h/a 'sixth'.				
	-t/a		Ā	-t/a	kām̐t/a 'less'
	Likewise : jādt̥/a 'much'.				
	-tār		kām	-tār	kām̐tār 'less'
	Likewise : jādatār ~ jādtār 'much'.				
	-l/a		mānj	-l/a	mānj̐l/a 'middle'.
	-r/a		Īk	-r/a	kūr̐/a 'onefold'
	Likewise : dūr̐/a 'twofold'.				
	-sr̐/i	'(occurring in numerals 2 & 3 in F. only)'			
	dō		-sr̐/i	dūs̐r̐/i	'second'
	Likewise : tīs̐r̐/i 'third'.				
	-a		mājūd	-a	mājūdda 'present'
	Likewise : dūa 'second', trĪyya ~ trĪa 'third'.				
	-ai		cōth	-ai	cōthāi 'fourth part'.
	-aj̐/u		dō	-aj̐/u	duāj̐j̐/u 'marrying at a second time (M.)'.
	-ll̐/a		Īk-	-ll̐/a	kĪll̐/a 'alone'.
	-ī		pēnj	-ī	pēnjī 'fifth (F.)'
	Likewise : sāt̐tī 'seventh', nōī 'ninth'.				
	-i/a		kāl̐	-i/a	kāl̐i/a 'black'
	Likewise : pyūl̐i/a 'yellow'.				
	-Uā		pōnj	-Uā	pēnjUā 'fifth (M.)'
	Likewise : sāt̐Uā 'seventh', nōUā 'ninth'.				

	Adj. &	Suffix	Resultant Adj.
-ut/a	kāl	-ut/a	kālūt/a 'black'.
-er	ád	-er	ədər 'middle aged'.
-er/a	bād	-er/a	bādər/a 'great'

Likewise : bātər/a 'much'.

3.1223 Nucleus as a verb

	V. &	Suffix	Resultant Adj.
-kar	jān	-kar	jānkar 'conversant'.
-n/a	mó	-n/a	món/a 'enchanting'.
-n/u	jēm	-n/u	jāmn/u 'natal'.
-rř	pətò	-rř	pətòrř 'mad'.
-t/a	rēm	-t/a	rēmt/a 'wandering'.
-d/a	pér	-d/a	pérd/a 'reading'.
-ək, -ər	kŪm	-ək, -ər	kəməkkər 'vagabond'.
-ər	sŪk	-ər	sŪkkər 'dried'

Likewise : ləggər 'used', cŪppər 'silent'.

-ənt	kər	-ənt	kərənt 'concocted'.
-a, -u	Ūđ	-a, -u	dŪāu 'lavish'

Likewise : təkau 'durable', bəkāu 'saleable'.

-a, -k/a	lēr	-a, -k/a	lərākk'a 'quarrelsome'.
-a, -k, -ər	nəs	-a, -k, -ər	nəsākkər 'runaway'

Likewise : rəsākkər 'disgusted', lətākkər 'one who kicks with feet'.

	V. &	Suffix	Resultant Adj.
-a, -k, -əḷ	dār	-a, -k, -əḷ	drākkəḷ 'timid'.
-a, -ṛ	mūttar	-a, -ṛ	mətrār 'one who is in the habit of urinating frequently'.
-a, -n/a	māst	-a, -n/a	māstānn/a 'intoxicated'.
-a, -p/i	mīl	-a, -p/i	mālāpp/i 'companionable'

Likewise : bārāpp/i 'lamenting'.

-a, -b, -ṭ/i	sāj	-a, -b, -ṭ/i	sajābṭ/i 'decorative'
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Likewise : dakhābṭ/i 'showy'.

-a, -b/i	bōl	-a, -b/i	bālāb/i 'calling (woman)'.
-a, -l/a	ūttar	-a, -l/a	trāll/a 'declined'.
-a, -l/u	jām	-a, -l/u	jāmāl/u 'natal'.
-Ind/a	bās-	-Ind/a	bāsInd/a 'resident'.
-il/a	cāmka	-il/a	cāmkill/a 'resplendent'

Likewise : khārcill/a 'lavish', lāckill/a 'flexible'.

-u	khā	-u	khāu 'voracious'
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Likewise : jUāṛu 'lavish', māru 'deadly'.

-u/ā	kāt	-u/ā	kātU/ā 'prepared from cutting'.
-u, -a, -l	sād	-u, -a, -l	sādUāl 'inviting'

Likewise : jāmUāl 'natal'.

-e, -tər	māng	-e, -tər	māngēttər 'betrothed'.
-ē, -ṛ	mūttar	-ē, -ṛ	mətrēr 'one who is in the habit of urinating'.
-ēṇ/i	sār	-ēṇ/i	sārēnn/i 'dirty'.

	V. &	Suffix	Resultant Adj.
-én/u '(diminutive)'			
	sār	-én/u	sārén/u 'dirty'.
-el	bīggār	-el	bāgrēl 'obstinate'.
-ó, -d/a	jāl	-ó, -d/a	jəlódd/a 'hot-tempered'.
-ó, -d/u '(diminutive)'			
	jāl	-ó, -d/u	jəlódd/u 'hot-tempered'
-ó, -d, -æn	jāl	-ó, -d, -æn	jəlóddæn 'hot-tempered (F.)'.
-ó, -d, -ær	jāl	-ó, -d, -ær	jəlóddær 'hot-tempered (F.)'.
-o, -r/a	cāt	-o, -r/a	cātōr/a 'glutton'.
-o, -r/a	hās	-o, -r/a	hāsōr/a 'jocular'.

3.1224 Nucleus as an adverb

	Adv. &	Suffix	Resultant Adj.
-k/a	hŪn	-k/a	hŪnk/a 'recent'
Likewise : Íbk/a 'recent', bárk/a 'outsided'.			
-khā	stāb	-khā	stābkhā 'hasty'.
-kn/a	āj	-kn/a	ājkn/a 'today's'

Likewise : pārsōkn/a 'day before yesterday's or day after tomorrow's'.

-l/a	bīc	-l/a	bīcl/a 'middle'
------	-----	------	-----------------

Likewise : múrl/a 'first one', hēthl/a 'belonging to downside'.

-baj	jāld	-baj	jāldbaj 'speedy'.
-a	bár	-a	bára 'outsided'

Likewise : ōpra 'belonging to upside, stranger'.

-al/a	Ūppār	-al/a	prāll/a 'belonging to upside'.
-et/a	āg	-et/a	gētt/a 'first'

Likewise : pāchētt/a 'last'.

3.123 Adverb forming suffixes

3.1231 Nucleus as a substantive

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant Adv.
-bar	lāmbār ~ nāmbār	-bar	lāmbārbar ~ nāmbārbar 'serially'.
-ǎ	ǎg	-ǎ	gǎ 'before'

Likewise : pǎcǎ 'after'.

-i	sāc	-i	sēc̣ci 'truly'
----	-----	----	----------------

Likewise : sīnddi 'freely', cūṭṭhi 'falsely'.

-i/a	sāmṇ	-i/a	sāmṇi/a 'before'
------	------	------	------------------

Likewise : mūrī'a 'in front'.

-iē	sāmṇ	-iē	sāmṇiē 'before'
-----	------	-----	-----------------

Likewise : bāriē 'outside', āndriē 'inside'.

-ē	hōḷ	-ē	hōḷē 'slowly'
----	-----	----	---------------

Likewise : tōḷē 'quickly', āggē 'before'.

3.1232 Nucleus as an adjective

	Num. &	Suffix	Resultant Adv.
-e	dō	-e	dōe 'both'.
-o	Īk	-o	Īkko ~ Īkko 'only, once'

Likewise : tréo 'all three', thrice', sǎbbo 'all, every'.

3.124 Pronouns and derivational suffixes

Pronominal stems as well as derivative suffixes have irregular allomorphy. The following are the initial morphemes ready to join suffixes to form adjectives, adverbs and conjunctives :

proximate	:	I-	~ Ī-	~ i-	~ ǎ-
distal	:	U-	~ Ū-	~ ū-	~ o- ~ t-
interrogative	:	k-			
relative	:	j-			

(a) *Adjectives : Initial morphemes and their construction with suffixes*

The resultant combination is in adjectives inflected like M 2 and F 3 in the uniform structure described here as :

	Pronoun &		Suffix		Resultant Adj.	
	proximate	distal	relative	interrogative	glossed last one	
<i>Quantity</i> :	l-tŋ/a	Ū-tŋ/a ~ t-Ītŋ/a	j-Ītŋ/a	k-Ītŋ'a	'howmuch ?'	
<i>Quality</i> :	(ə-) dé/a	U-dé/a ~ o-dé/a ~ t-ədé/a	j-ədé/a	k-ədé/a	'what kind of ?'	
<i>Time</i> :	Ī-bk/a	t-ădk/a	j-ădk/a	k-ădk/a	'of what time ?'	
	Ī-bkŋ/a	t-ădkŋ/a	j-ădkŋ/a	k-ădkŋ/a		

(b) *Adverbs*

	Pronoun &		Suffix		Resultant Adv.	
	Proximate	distal	relative	interrogative	glossed last one	
<i>Place</i> :	Ī-tthu	ó-tthu t-Ītthu	j-Ītthu	k-Ūt (h) u k-Ūt (h) i k-Ūtki	'where ?'	
<i>Place</i> :	I-tá	U-tá	j-Itá	k-Utá	'whither ?'	
'(towards which)'		~t-Itá				
'(byway)'	I-nci	ū-nci	j-inci	k-ūnci	'by which way ?'	
	~i-nciě	~ū-nciě	~j-inciě	~k-unciě		
	~i-nnici	~Ū-nnici	~j-Innici	~k-Ūnnici		
	~Ī-nnicie	~Ū-nnicie	~j-Īnnicie	~k-Ūnnicie		
		t-inci				
		~t-incie				
		~t-Innici				
		~t-Īnnicie				

	Pronoun &		Suffix	Resultant	Adv.
	Proximate	distal	relative	interrogative	glossed last one
<i>Manner :</i>	ĩ-ã	ũ-ĩã ~ õ-ĩã ~ t-ĩã	j-ĩã	k-ĩã	'how ?'
<i>Time :</i>	ẽ-dũ	Ů-dũ ~ õ-dũ ~ t-ẽdũ ~ t-ẽdĩ ~ t-ẽdi	j-ẽdũ ~ j-ẽdĩ ~ j-ẽdi	k-ẽdũ ~ k-ẽdĩ ~ k-ẽdi	'when ?'
	Í-bbẽ	t-odyàři ~ t-ədəři t-állu	j-odyàři ~ j-ədəři j-állu	k-odyàři ~ k-ədəři k-állu	'when ?' 'when ?'
<i>Reason :</i>				k-ẽ	'why ?'
<i>Purpose :</i>				k-ẽt	'for what ?'

(c) Pronoun & Suffix Resultant conjunctive

<i>Time, manner, condition</i>	t-ã 'then, so,'	j-ã 'when'	j-ẽ 'what, if'.
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3.125 Root and derivational suffixes

3.1251 Causal

3.12511 Causal, simple

-a	'do'	kār	-a	kərā
	'cut'	cīr	-a	cārā
	'heat'	sēk	-a	səkā
	'run'	dɔɾ	-a	dəɾā
	'lift'	cŪk	-a	cəkā
	'drink'	pl	-a	pyā.

3.12512 Causal, double

-Ua	'do'	kār	-Ua	kārUā
	'write'	līkh	-Ua	lākhUā
	'rise'	jāg	-Ua	jāgUā
	'clean'	sōt	-Ua	sātUā
	'fill'	pūr	-Ua	pārUā
	'fan'	cōl	-Ua	cālUā
	'wear'	pén	-Ua	pānUā
	'sing'	gā	-Ua	gUā
	'fill'	pā	-Ua	pUā.

3.1252 Potential

-o	'do'	kār	-o	kārō
	'cut'	cīr	-o	cārō
	'sew'	sī	-o	syō
	'weep'	rō	-o	ryō
	'besiege'	kēr	-o	kārō
	'sing'	gā	-o	gō
	'fill'	pā	-o	pō.

3.1253 Nominal

-er

Sub. :	māl	-er	mālēr	'to make dirty',
	khāṛ	-er	khārēr	'to make stand',
	tāp	-er	tāpēr	'to make hot',
Num. :	Īk	-ṭh, -er	kāṭhēr	'collect',
V. :	bāj	-er	bājēr	'to make one play'.

3.1254 Derivational morphemes verbalizing substantives

	Sub. &	Suffix	Resultant V.
-a	sārm	-a	sārmā 'blush'
Likewise : pəthrā 'petrify', glā 'speak', t̥həkrā 'kick', lra 'wave'.			
-ya	bātth	-ya	thya 'handle, catch'.
-φ	phəṅkār	-φ	phəṅkār 'make hissing sound'

Likewise : təṅkār 'jingle'.

3.13 Derivation by phoneme substitution**3.131 Transitive verbs**

	V. int. &	phoneme substitution	Resultant V.t.
/ I / → / e /	mIl	'meet'	mēl
	phIr	'turn'	phēr
	bIk	'sell'	bēc
/ U / → / o /	jUṛ	'join'	jōṛ
	tŪl	'weigh'	tōl
	tUt	'break'	tōṛ
/ ə / → / a /	phāt	'tear'	phār
	mār	'die'	mār
	bIggəṛ	'spoil'	bəgār.

3.132 Substantives

	V. &	phoneme substitution	Resultant Sub.
/ I / → / e /	mIl	'meet'	mēl
	kIr	'turn'	kēr
/ U / → / o /	tUl	'weigh'	tōl
/ ə / → / a /	kār	'do'	kār
	cāl	'move'	cāl,

3.14 Reduplication

There are occurrences of some phrases involving repetition of a word. These will be illustrated in § 4. The summary is presented here :

- | | | | |
|-------------------|---|------------------|-----------------------|
| (a) Substantives | : | kār kār | 'every house'. |
| (b) Adjectives | : | khāra khāra | 'progressively good'. |
| (c) Pronouns | : | kŪn kŪn | 'who (and) who ?' |
| (d) Verbs | : | mār mār | 'kill (etc.)'. |
| Compound elements | : | nyāḷi nyāḷi | 'after waiting'. |
| (e) Adverbs | : | kādi kādi | 'seldom'. |
| (f) Postpositions | : | mēre kenne kenne | 'alongwith me'. |
| (g) Interjections | : | hāla hāla | '(caution)'. |

These are termed as echo forms which occur in noun and verb stems.¹ Mostly these reduplicative morphemes have onomatopoeic meaning or belong to expressive vocabulary. The structure of reduplicated stems is described as follows :

3.141 Reduplication without alternation

These are the cases of two phonemically identical syllables. The reduplicand and reduplicator occur without alternation :

- | | | | |
|--------------|---|-----------|------------------|
| (a) N. stems | : | bó bó | 'barking' |
| | | thār thār | 'shivering'. |
| (b) V. stems | : | khīl khīl | 'laugh heartily' |
| | | phār phār | 'throb'. |

3.142 Reduplication with alternation of consonants

The alternation of the initial consonant occurs in the reduplicator :

- | | | | |
|--------------|---|----------|-----------------|
| (a) N. stems | : | gŪs mŪs | 'conspiration' |
| | | chŪṇ mŪṇ | 'tinkling' |
| (b) V. stems | : | gŪṇ mŪṇ | 'mutter (etc.)' |
| | | gāj bāj | 'show (etc.)'. |

1. Cf. "Note :—In actual use we have not been able to detect any marked distinction between the Echo-words and Reduplication. They appear to be two different devices for the same thing." Śaṅsena, p. 323,

3.143 Reduplication with alternation of vowels

The alternation of the vowel occurs in the reduplicator :

- | | | |
|----------------|---------|-----------------------|
| (a) N. stems : | sĩm sām | 'tickle' |
| | tān tŭn | 'ringing (of a bell)' |
| (b) V. stems : | chú chá | 'touch (etc.)' |
| | là lù | 'shake (etc.)' |

3.144 Reduplication of stems with derivational suffixes

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| I. Reduplicand & Suffix | & | Reduplicator |
| Sub. dĩn o dĩn | | 'everyday' |
| Adj. gārm a gārm | | 'very hot' |
| Adv. bār o bar | | 'turn by turn'. |
| II. Reduplicand & Reduplicator | & | Suffix |
| (a) N. stems : | phər phər āt | 'flutter' |
| | chu chU àt | 'touch and the like'. |
| (b) V. stems : | tāṛ tər a | 'break' |
| | gāṛ gər a | 'thunder'. |
| III. Reduplicand & Reduplicator | & | Suffix |
| | jōr a jor i | 'great force' |
| | bōl a boll i | 'quarrel'. |

3.145 Summary

The typical structure of reduplicated stems is summarized as follows :

- I. It contains a reduplicand.
- II. The reduplicator may be either identical or may be a phonologic modification of the reduplicand.
- III. The reduplicated stem may include, in addition, a suffix. This suffix may be either between two matching elements or at the end of the stem.
- IV. The corresponding unreduplicated form which undertakes reduplicated stem occurs with {kāne} 'and' e.g. {dĩnodĩn} corresponding with {dĩn kāne dĩn} 'day and day'.

3.15 Composition

The construction consists of a sequence of two or more immediate constituents. The resultant combination of the immediate constituents can be classified under three major heads :

I Substantives, II Adjectives and III Adverbs.

3.151 Resultant combination in substantives

(a) Sub. & Sub. → Sub.

bāṇmāṇu 'jungle-man'.

The corresponding phrase is with {-d/a} as bāṇeda māṇu 'jungle's man'.

Likewise : prōṇtām 'guest-feast' > prōṇe tãĩ tām guest-for feast.

hābñkUṇḍ 'sacrifice-altar' > hābne baste kUṇḍ, 'sacrifice-for altar'.

dēsñakāḷa 'country-exodus' > dēsse te ñakāḷa 'country-from exodus'.

In Sanskrit grammar such types of combinations occur in *tatpuruṣasamāsa*.

(b) Attribute-substantive compound termed as *karmadhāraya*

i. The classes of immediate constituents are substantially the same. The first constituent expresses a comparison :

sermāṇu 'lion-man' > sēre sái māṇu 'lion-like man'.

cārñkām 'foot-lotus' > cārñ kāmle sái 'foot lotus-like (lotus-feet)'. In this example the nucleus /kām/ is the standard of comparison.

ii. Adj. & Sub. → Sub.

SpēḍphUḷ 'white-flower'

pāḷmaṇsi 'good man-like (gentlemanliness)'.

In these examples the adjective as a first constituent is combined with the substantive.

- (c) Sub. & V. → Sub.

pŪkḥmar 'starvation-kill' > pŪkkha ne mār
'starvation-with kill (famine)'.

kāppəṛtò 'cloth-wash' > kāpṛṛṛā da tò 'clothes-of wash'.

In such combinations a verb is modified to a substantive.

- (d) Sub. & Sub. → Sub.

hāṇṇā 'yes-no' > hā jā nā 'yes or no (a reply)'.

The combination of particles occurs in this example.

- (e) V. & Sub. → Sub.

chūmāntər 'touch-incantation (miracle)'.

- (f) Num. & Sub. → Sub.

nārāṭṭa 'nine-night' > nō rāṭṭī 'nine nights,

(a term of nine nights of worship of the Goddess Durgā
in April and October)'.

cābārkh 'four-year' > cār bārkhā 'four years (fourth
death anniversary)'.

pānjbēṭi 'five-banian' > pānj bārā 'five banians (trees in
cluster)'.

sātnājja 'seven-cereal' > sāt nāj 'seven cereals (mixes)'.

Such types of combinations occur with numerals as first constituents with nucleus as a substantive termed as *dvigu* in Sanskrit grammar.

(g) In the combination termed as copulative *dvandva*, both constituents occur as substantives terminating in singular or plural :

- i. Sub. & Sub. → Sub. (sg.)

lūṇtel 'salt-oil'.

The corresponding phrase is with /kāne/ 'and' as lūṇ kāne tēl
'salt and oil'.

Likewise : dāṇḍkilli 'stick-ball (tip cat)',

jāntərmanṭər 'yantra-mantra (spell)'.

The combination of more than two constituents occur as :

lūṇteltmakku 'salt-oil-tobacco, > lūṇ kōne tēl kōne
tmākku' 'salt and oil and tobacco'.

ii. Sub. & Sub. → Sub. (pl.)

khāsmjōṇas 'husband-wife' > khāsm kōne jōṇās 'husband
and wife'.

Likewise : pēṇpāu 'sister-brother', pūtpret 'goblin-goblin'.

The combination of more than two constituents occurs as :

brāmabīṣṇumēs 'Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Maheśa' (trinity of
Gods)'.

iii. Semantically different combination of two immediate
constituents occurs as :

Sub. & Sub. → Sub. (sg.)

sUkhdUkkh 'comfort-discomfort' > sUkkh kōne dUkkh
'comfort and discomfort'.

Likewise : hārjlt 'defeat-victory'.

Adj. & Adj. → Sub. (sg.)

klēṛakhottā 'good-bad' > khōra kōne khōṭṭa 'good
and bad'.

nīkkabāḍḍa 'small-big' > nīkka kōne bāḍḍa 'small and
great'.

V. & V. → Sub. (sg.)

Ūṭhbēṭh 'stand-sit' > Ūṭh kōne bēṭh 'stand and sit'
(movement)'.

dīkhsUṇ 'see-hear' > dīkkh kōne sUṇ 'see and hear
(observation)'.

Adj. & Sub. → Sub.

sāḍabārt 'always-donation' > sāḍa hi bārt 'always
verily vow'.

Likewise : bāḍḍu pēsa 'extra-money'.

3.152 Resultant combination in adjectives termed as bahubrihi

- (a) Sub. & Sub. → Adj.

gōmUkh 'cow-face' > gāi sái mŭē aḷa 'cow-like faced,
whose face is like cow's face (innocent)'.

- (b) Sub. & Adj. → Adj.

jānmroggi 'birth-ill' > jānme te rōggi 'birth-from ill
(born ill)',

jānmánd 'birth-blind' > jānme te ánna 'birth-from
blind (born blind)',

bāglapāgt 'heron-devout' > bāgle sái pāgt 'heron-like
devout (false person)'.

- (c) Sub. & V. → Adj.

kāppaṛchan 'cloth-sifted' > kāpṛe bīccē chan 'cloth-
through sifted'.

hālbá 'plough-sow' > hāle kāne bānda 'plough-with
sow (ploughman)',

mŭlāg 'face-attach' > mŭē kāne lāg 'face-with attach
(very close)',

mākkhicus 'fly-suck' > mākhia jo cusda 'fly-to suck
(fly-sucker, miser)'.

- (d) Adj. & Sub. → Adj.

pālmans 'good man'.

- (e) Adj. & Adj. → Adj.

lālpŭḷa 'red-yellow' > lāl kāne pŭḷa 'red and yellow',

khātṁlītṭha 'sour-sweet' > khātṭa kāne mlītṭha 'sour
and sweet'.

- (f) Num. & Adj. → Adj.

dUmūā 'two-mouthed' > dū mūā aḷa 'two-mouthed (tricky)'.

cəmŪkkha 'four-mouthed' > cū mūā aḷa, jIsde car mū hān '(one) whose four mouths are (keen observer)'.

- (g) Num. & Num. → Adj.

Īkdo 'one-two' > Īk jā dō 'one or two',

pānjdas 'five-ten' > pānj jā dās 'five or ten'.

- (h) V. & Sub. → Adj.

hāsmŪkh 'smile-face' > jIsda hāsda mŪkh hē 'who has smiling face'.

- (i) Adv. & Adj. → Adj.

sādakhāra 'always-good'.

3.153 Resultant combination in adverbs termed as avyayībhāva

- (a) Sub. & Adv. → Adv.

tĪlmattar 'oil-seed only (very little)',

sūmattar 'needle only (very little)'.

- (b) Adj. & Adj. → Adv.

pŪthsīd 'back-front' > pŪtṭha kāne sīdda 'back and front (disorderly)'.

- (c) Num. & Sub. → Adv.

Īkdām 'one breath (suddenly)',

Īkbāri 'one turn (once)'.

- (d) V. & V. → Adv.

ŪṭpŪṭ 'turn-turn' > ūṭ kāne pŪṭ 'turn and turn (topsy turvy)'.

- (e) Adv. & Adv. → Adv.

hēṭhUppār 'up-down' > hēṭh jā Uppār 'up or down'.

The itirative adverbial composition occurs as :

cāṭpəṭ, phāṭpəṭ 'soon-soon (at once)'.

- (f) Postposition & Sub. → Adv.

bīnabāja 'sans reason'.

In such a combination /bīna/ occurring usually as a postposition takes the form of preposition.

3.2 Inflection

3.21 Nominal inflection : a general statement

I. Number and case

Nouns are inflected for number and case. There are two numbers : i. singular and ii. plural and four cases : i. nominative, ii. oblique, iii. agentive and iv. vocative.

II. Agentive case

The case markers of the agentive and oblique are likewise. Optionally the nasalisation occurs in the singular form of the agentive in the masculine gender.¹

Nom.	Sg.	Obl.	Ag.	Obl. pl.
dēbba	'a male given name'	dēbbe	dēbbē	dēbbēā
rŪkkh	'tree (M.)'	rŪkkhe	rŪkkhē	rŪkkhā
Cf. sās	'spouse's mother'	sāssu	sōssu	sāssū

1. Cf. "the instrumental in -ē, -an and -anhi is very common in modern Bhojpuri in such expressions as dātē, dātan, dātanhi, with teeth. The instrumental ending in -ē is found in Maithili, Magahi, old Bengali, Oriya and Assamese". Tiwari, p. 108.

III. *Locative case*

Optionally this case occurs in the inanimate substantives.¹ Like agentive case the oblique markers express the sense of this case. Likewise the nasalisation occurs in the singular form of this case in the masculine gender :

	sg.	pl.
kràṭ 'water-mill (M.)'	kràṭṭe ~ kràṭṭē	kràṭṭā
Cf. bári 'year (F.)'	bária	báriā

IV. *Gender*

There are two genders : i. masculine and ii. feminine. The gender marking suffixes described in § 3. 1. (i) do not exhaust the possibility of the assignment of gender. "The sex-gender is preeminently a characteristic feature of Indo-Aryan, which has been even further evolved by New Indo-Aryan, even the verb of which has evolved gender."² The attempts were made by the researchers to illustrate the adequate coverage as from the same stem the masculine ending in -a and -i are replaced by -i and -əṇ ~ əṇ respectively to form the feminine gender.

The feminine markers -i, -ṇi ~ -ni, -aṇi ~ ani occur if the masculine ending is in a consonant. These occur in the majority of cases but cannot be applicable to the sundries. The assignment, in many a cases, is determined by popular usage.³ It is either derivational as in kòṛ -a 'horse' and kòṛ -i 'mare' or a lexically selective as in bāppu 'father' and əmma 'mother'.

The greatest number of substantives ends in -u, with a few exceptions, masculine :

māṇu 'man', mŪṇḍu 'boy'.

Exception : bŪ 'father's sister', rōṇku 'a female given name'.

1. Cf. "The locative in -e, -ē in modern Bhojpuri is both static and dynamic towards the place." Tiwari, p. 109.

2. "लिंगमशिष्यमिति । लिंगव्यवस्थायां लोकः प्रमाणमित्यर्थः । अनेन लिंगस्वरूपमपि लोकादेव जायते इत्युक्तं भवति ।" पतञ्जलि, पृ. २६.

3. Varma, L. S. I, *General Introduction*, p. 45-46.

V. *Substantives with incomplete inflection*

i. The following substantives occur in singular only :

(a) *Time and date*

āj 'today (M.)', pyàg 'morning (F.)', pārea 'first day of lunar fortnight (F.)'.

(b) *Group*

piṛ 'crowd (F.)', sēna 'army (F.)'.

(c) *Material*

mākhīr 'honey (M.)', sūna 'gold (M.)'.

(d) *Space*

āmbār 'sky (M.)', tār̥ti 'earth (F.)'.

(e) *Given name*

dīttu 'a male given name', krōṭ 'Karot, a village in Hamirpur'.

(f) *Feelings and emotions*

pūkkh 'hunger (F.)', mó 'attachment (M.)', kród 'anger (M.)'.

(g) *Diseases*

khāng 'cough (M.)', tāp 'fever (F.)'.

(h) *Onomatopoeia*

tārāk 'creaking sound', jārk 'creaking sound of wood'.

(i) *Infinitive*

pār̥na 'reading', khāṇa 'eating'.

ii. A few substantives, lexically disparate, occur in plural only :

dāṇe 'grain', cōl̥ 'rice', prāṇ 'life', ṛāṇ 'fortune', dōrsən 'appearance, meeting'.

The honorifics also occur in plural only : hōrā.

VI. *Defective case and number*

bá bá, sābas 'bravo', jē 'victory (F. Nom. sg. only)'.

VII. *Indeclinable*

pāl, bal, bāl 'near, towards'

These substantives lose their gender and number and occur as postpositions, adverbs and others falling in the category of particles as described in § 4.

VIII. *Class cleavage*

The examples of declensional class cleavage with semantic differentiations occur as :

lōk 'earth (sg.)' : lōk 'people (pl.)'.

kāngri 'earthen fire-pot (F. Sub.)' : kāngri 'pertaining to Kangra (Adj.)'.

VIII. *Pairs*

A few substantives in pairs refer to associate objects of different kinds :

M.	F.
tāla 'lock'	: tāli 'key',
gūtṭha 'thumb'	: gūtṭhi 'ring',
kāngra 'a place name'	: kāngri 'earthen fire-pot'.

IX. *Defective genders*

A few defective adjectival substantives occur as :

mōtia 'pearly white (M. not F.)', cāñi 'moonlight (F. and not M.)', spēddi 'whitewash (F. and not M.)', lāli 'redness (F. and not M.)'.

(a) *Masculine*

i. The following animate substantives occur in M. only :

sēru 'hare', kō 'crow', nōl 'mongoose', bāld 'ox', drōla 'honeybee', ləmkā 'bat',

ii. Most of the diminutives occur in M. only :

jijju, kiṛu, kēṇḍu 'insecta' and others as described in § 3.1. (iii (a)).

iii. Most of the magnitatives occur in M. only :

dōra 'thread', gāṛba 'jar', gōla 'bomb'.

(b) *Feminine*

The following animate substantives occur in F. only :

tərmōṛi 'wasp', mākkhi 'fly', gā 'cow', khāccār 'mule'.

(c) *Masculine and feminine*

In such cases the choice varies from speaker to speaker. The gender is determined by context in the given names :

rāmmo, isri, pārsōtto, rōsso and other substantives :
sīrglṭ 'cigarette', srab 'wine', dēḷi 'curd', sāngəl 'chain'.

(d) *Masculine and feminine in free variation*

jōṛa (M.), jōṛi (F.), 'couple'.

(e) *Synonymy*

hāt (M.), dākān (F.) 'shop', jṇ (M.), jān (F.) 'life',
chāppār (M.), chān (F.) 'roof', yūnd (M.), sīt (M.) 'cold'.

(f) *Homonymy*

jī 'heart (M.)', : 'wife's mother (F.)',
sōg 'mourning (M.)' : 'company (F.)',
māṇ 'maund (M.)' : 'gem (F.)',
pīppəl 'holy fig tree (M.)' : 'pepper (F.)'.

XI. *Opposition*

dāṅg : dāṅga : dāṅgu
'bite' 'stone wall' 'scorpion'.

pāl : pālla : pālli
'fraction of time, 'end of scraf' 'hut'.
24 seconds'

bāt : bātṭa : bātṭi
'earn, twist, 'stone' 'unit of weight about
stone' 2 kilogrammes'.

3.211 Substantives and adjectives : inflection categories

MASCULINE : CASE MARKERS

Stem	Singular			Plural		Domain
	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom. Obl.	Voc.	
M 1 kàr 'home' lāl 'red' dé 'body'	-φ	-e	-φ/-a	-φ	-ã -o	stems ending in C and V.
M 1.1 kō 'crow'	-φ	-e	-φ/-a/-e	-φ	-ã -o	exceptional category I monosyllabic stems ending in -o.
M 2 kōr 'horse' māṛ 'bad'	-a	-e	-a/-e/-ea	-e	-ẽã -eo	exceptional category II stems ending in -a having nominative resultant -a.
M 3 pṛitto 'given name'	-φ	-φ	-φ	-	- -φ	exceptional category III disyllabic stems ending in -o.

FEMININE : CASE MARKERS

	Stem.	Singular				Plural		Domain
		Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	
F 1	mès 'water- buffalo' gā 'cow'	-φ	-i	-i/-e	-ĩ	-ĩ	-i/-o	stems ending in C. monosyllabic stems ending in V.
F 2	sās 'spouse's mother' mā 'mother'	-φ	-u	-u/-e	-ũ	-ũ	-o	exceptional category I.
F 3	kòr-i 'mare' māi-i 'bad' bū 'father's sister'	-φ	-a	-φ/-e	-ã	-ã	-o	exceptional category II in monosyllabic stems : /bā/, /tĩ/ only available examples.
F 3.I	lāl 'red'	-φ	-a	-φ/-a	-φ	-ã	-φ/-o	adjective stems ending in C.
F 4	āmma 'mother' bābbo 'sister' rōnku 'given name'	-φ	-φ	-φ	-	-	-φ	stems ending in -a, -o, -u.

3.2111 Masculine

M 1	Singular			Plural		
	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.
	-φ	-e	-φ ~ -a	-φ	-ā	-o
kār 'home'	kār	kāre	kār ~ kārā	kār	kārā	kāro
dé 'body'	dé	dé	dé ~ déa	dé	dēā	déo

Other examples :

- (a) *Stems ending in C*
bālk 'child', sūr 'pig', māndār 'temple'.
- (b) *Stems ending in / i /*
mōtti 'pearl, a male given name', pāni 'water'.
- (c) *Stems ending in / e /*
sné 'affection'.
- (d) *Stems ending in / z /*
pārle 'dissolution', gré 'planet', té 'fold'.
- (e) *Stems ending in / u /*
mānu 'man', pāu 'brother', mŪnnu 'babe'.

/ φ / occurs in a familiar discourse in Voc. sg.

/ a / elsewhere.

M 1.1	Singular			Plural		
	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.
	-φ	-e	-φ ~ -a ~ -e	-φ	-ā	-o
kō 'crow'	kō	kōe	kō ~ kōā ~ kōe	kō	kōā	kōo

These examples occur in monosyllabic stems ending in / o /.

Other examples : tō 'heat, burning', gō 'desire', dā 'wager'.

Note : /oo/ → /o/ in certain styles of speech : /kō/ cf. § 2.0 (V).

M 2	Singular			Plural		
	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.
	-a	-e	-a ~ -e ~ -ea	-e	-ěā	-eo
kòř	kòřa	kòře	kòřa ~ kòře ~ kòřea	kòře	kòřěā	kòřeo

Other examples : bāb- 'father's father', khōt- 'donkey', cac- 'father's younger brother', sāl- 'wife's brother'.

-a in Voc. sg. occurs in a familiar discourse.

-ea in emphatic speech and for calling aloud.

-e elsewhere.

M 3	Singular			Plural		
	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.
	-φ	-φ	-φ	-~	-~	-φ
pritto	pritto	pritto	pritto	prittō	prittō	pritto

Other examples : rāmēssō, syāmo, mēsto etc. are male given names.

3.2112 Feminine

F 1	Singular			Plural		
	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.
	-φ	-i	-i ~ -e	-ĩ	-ĩ	-i ~ -o
mēs	mēs	mēssi	mēssi ~ mēsse	mēssĩ	mēssĩ	mēssi ~ mēssō
gā	gā	gāi	gāi ~ gāe	gāĩ	gāĩ	gāĩ ~ gāo

Other examples :

(a) *Stems ending in C*

rāt 'night', jəñēt 'bridegroom's party',

(b) *Monosyllabic stems ending in V*

-e :	sē 'tonsure',	dē 'goddess, girl'
-ε :	gē 'step',	mē 'water-buffalo'
-a :	cá 'tea',	chá 'buttered milk', rā 'advice'
-o :	gó 'lizard',	só 'oath'
-u :	sú 'investigation',	chú 'a thorny plant'.

F 2	Singular			Plural		
	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.
	-φ	-u	-u ~ -e	-ũ	-ũ	-o
sēs 'spouse's mother'	sēs	sēssu	sēssu ~ sēsse	sēssũ	sēssũ	sēssso
mā 'mother'	mā	māu	māu ~ mae	māũ	māũ	māo

Note : ma is the only example available in the data.

Substantives denoting kinship are the only examples available in this exceptional category :

pátés 'spouse's father's brother's wife',

nánés 'spouse's mother's mother',

dədəs 'spouse's father's mother'.

F 3	Singular			Plural		
	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.
	-φ	-a	-φ ~ -e	-ã	-ã	-o
kòr-i 'mare'	kòri	kòria	kòri ~ kòrie	kòrĩã	kòrĩã	kòrio
bū 'father's sister'	bū	būa	bū ~ bue	bũã	bũã	buo

Note : bū is the only example available in the data.

tì 'daughter'	tì	tia	tì ~ tie	tĩã	tĩã	tio
------------------	----	-----	----------	-----	-----	-----

Note : Only this example is available in the data in monosyllabic stem ending in -i,

Other examples : dai 'nurse', kŪṛi 'girl', dēbi 'goddess',
rōṭṭi 'bread'.

-φ Voc. sg. occurs in familiar discourse.

-e elsewhere.

F 3.1	Singular			Plural		
	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.
	-φ	-a	-φ ~ -e	-φ	-ā	-φ ~ -o
lal 'red'	lal	lalla	lal~lalle	lal	lallā	lal~lallo

In this category the examples of adjective stems ending in C are :

spēd 'white', gŪār 'rustic', cālāk 'clever'.

F 4	Singular			Plural		
	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.	Nom.	Obl.	Voc.
	-φ	-φ	-φ	-~	-~	-o
māta 'mother, smallpox'.	māta	māta	māta	mātā	mātā	mātao

Other examples : ēmma 'mother' and female given names :

gita, jāsóda, sŪto, rōṅku, mǎdu and bōbbo 'sister'.

3.212 Adjectives

The adjectives are inflected like substantives for G N C.

(a) The stems ending in -a decline like M 2 :

māra 'bad', pāla 'nice', sājja 'pertaining to right side',
kāla 'black', pālla 'first', jābra 'old (of age)'.

(b) The stems ending in C decline like M 1 :

lal 'red', jŪān 'young', cālāk 'clever'.

The consonant final adjective stems do not alter in forming the feminine plurals. These form a sub-category 3.1 of F 3.

(c) The stems ending in -i decline like F 3 :

khāri 'good', kāli 'black', khābbi 'pertaining to left side'.

Exception : hōr 'other' declines alike in M & F :

Singular		Plural	
Nom.	Obl.	Nom.	Obl.
hōr	hōrsi~hōrni	hōr	hōrnā~hōrnī

3.2121 Numerals and inflection categories

The numerals are of three types :

I. Cardinals, Īk, dō etc.

II. Ordinals, dūa, dūra etc.

III. Fractions, dīḍ, ṭai etc.

The ordinal numerals denoting folds, multiplications etc. are derived from cardinal numerals as described in § 3.122. Here the detailed treatment is given for clarification :

cardinals		ordinals			
Set I		II	III	IV	V
1-12, 20		1st-12th, 20th	onifold to sixfold	double etc. :	alone, both etc.
Nom.	Obl.				
Īk	Īkki ~Īksi	pēl	kūr		kīl
dō	dū	dū	dūr	dūṇ	dōe
trē	trī	tri	trīr	trīṇ	tréo
cār	cā	cātt	cōr	cāṇ	cáro
pānj	pānjā	pānj	pānjór & onwards	pānjōṇ & onwards	pānjo & onwards
chē	chī	chē~chīṭṭh			

Set I		Set II
Nom.	Obl.	
sāt	sāttā	sāt
āṭṭh	āṭṭhā	āṭṭh
nō	nōā	nō
dās	dāssā	dās
gyāra	gyārā	gyār
bāra	bārā	bār
bí	bīā	bí
	& onwards	& onwards.

Set I -a occurs in M. & F. Obl. in 5, 7-99.

The stem bears the high tone / ' /.

Set II -a M marker occurs in 1-4 and in chīṭṭh 'six' and

-Ua in 5 & onwards. From 11-99 the stem bears the high tone / ' / . These numerals are inflected like M 2.

-i F. marker occurs in 1-4 and chīṭṭh 'six' and

-i in 5 and onwards. From 11-99 the stem bears the high tone / ' / . These numerals are inflected like F 3.

Set III & IV are inflected like M 2 and F 3.

In set IV the suffix -gəṇ occurs for higher ordinals after the cardinal stem.

Set V -o occurs after the cardinal stem bearing high tone in 3 & onwards. These are inflected for oblique like set I but -o does not occur in the oblique form in 2 and 4. The high tone remains without alternation.

-ĩ occurs in the oblique form in 2 and 4 alike in M & F :
dūĩ, cḡĩ.

sō 'hundred' is inflected like M 1.1 and F 3.

jār 'thousand', lākkh 'hundred thousand' and krōr 'ten millions' like M 1 and F 3.

The fractions are : áđ 'half', pōñ 'three quarters' and dyód 'one and a half' are inflected like M 2 and F 3.

sōa 'one and a quarter, one quarter more than (M.)'; Obl. sg. sUāe, Nom. pl. sōa, Obl. sŪāēā and F. sUāi like F 3.

đíđ 'one and a half' sg. only, Obl. đíđđi alike in M. and F.

țài 'two and a half' pl. only. Obl. țāĩā alike in M. and F.

sád 'one half more than' pl. only like M 2 and F 3.

This occurs always with the cardinal 3 and onwards.

Note : The following substantives denoting units, aggregation etc. are derived from cardinal numerals :

(a) kái 'one unit' țài 'unit of ten' like F 3.

sēnkṛ 'unit of hundred' like M 2 and F 3.

(b) The following substantives denoting units 1-4 occur as :
Īkkār, dŪkkār, trĪkkār & cōkkār inflected like M 1 and F 3.

(c) The figure 1-10 : Īk, dŪk, tĪk, cōk, pāñj, chĪk, sēt, āțțh, nēl and dēl inflected like M 2 and F 3.

(d) The names of the days occur always in F. : 1-3 pāṛea, dŪtia, trĪtia like F 4 ; 2, 4, 6 : dŪj in free variation with dŪtia, cōth and chāțțh like F 1 ; 5, 7, 8, 14 : pāñjē, sātē, āțțhē, cōdē like F 4 and 9-13 nōmmi, dāsmi, kādsi ~ kāsī, dUādsi, trōdsi ~ trōsti are inflected like F 3.

3.22 Pronouns : a general statement

The close variety of *domain-ties* as described in § 4.13 is inflected for number and case. The relative pronouns are inflected for G N C like M 2 and F 3. In other pronouns the gender is variable as it is ascertained by context.

The inventory of pronouns is as follows :

I. *Personal* : (a) *first person* : mē ~ hǎũ ~ ǎũ, (b) *second person* : tũ, and (c) *third person* : sǎ.

II. *Demonstrative* : (a) *distal* : ó 'that' and (b) *proximate* : é 'this'.

III. *Reflexive* : ǎppu 'self'.

IV. *Relative* : (a) ǎpn, (b) jér inflected like M 2 and F 3 'and' (c) jě.

V. *Indefinite* : (a) kōi 'any', (b) kŭcch ~ kŭcch 'some' and (c) kóki 'any one (sg. only)'.

VI. *Interrogative* : (a) *personal* : kŭn 'who?' and (b) *non-personal* : kyā 'what?'.

Many of the oblique cases have alternants which are conditioned grammatically according to the postpositions (PPs) they follow.

In the first and second person the singular and plural numbers in nominative case occur without any postposition in the sense of agentive. tǎ ~ tŭd second person sg. occur in agentive in free variation with tũ.

In case of other persons the plural in oblique case occurs as agentive. The examples in the table are left understood.

3.221 Pronouns and inflection categories

I. *Personal*

(a) <i>First person</i>	Singular		Plural	
	Nom.	Obl.	Nom.	Obl.
mē ~ hǎũ ~ ǎũ	mŭn ~ mǎ	ǎsǎ	sǎn ~ mǎn	
	mē		ǎsǎ ~ sǎ ~ mǎ	
(b) <i>Second person</i>	tũ	tŭ	tŭsǎ	tŭsǎ ~ tŭǎn ~ tmǎn tŭsǎ ~ tŭǎ ~ tmǎ
		tǎ		
Ag. sg. tũ ~ tǎ ~ tŭd				

(c) <i>Third person</i>	Singular		Plural	
	Nom.	Obl.	Nom.	Obl.
'he/she/it'	sé	tĪ~tĪ	sé	tĪnā
		tĪs		
		tĪsa (F. only)		

II. *Demonstrative*

(a) <i>Distal</i>	ó	Ū~Ū	ó	Ūnā
'that'		Ūs		
		Ūsa (F. only)		

(b) *Proximate*

'this'	é	Ī~Ī	é	Īnā
		Īs		
		Īsa (F. only)		

III. *Reflexive*

əppu (sg. and pl. alike. No alternation in stem before PPs.)

IV. *Relative*

(a)	əpn-a (like M 2)			
	əpn-i (like F 3)			
(b)	jér-a (like M 2)			
	jér-i (like F 3)			
(c)	jē	jĪ~jĪ	jē	jĪnā
	jĪs			
	jĪsa (F. only)			

	Singular		Plural	
V. <i>Indefinite</i>	Nom.	Obl.	Nom.	Obl.
(a) 'any'	kōi	kŪ~kŪ~kōi	kēi~kēiā~kēiā	
		kŪs~kŪsi		
		kŪsa (F. only)		
(b) 'some'	kŪcch~kŪcch	(sg. and pl. like kōi as above)		
(c) 'any one'	kōki	kŪski~kŪnki (sg. only)		
VI. <i>Interrogative</i>				
(a) <i>personal</i>	kŪŋ (like kōi	kŪŋ	kŪnā~kŪnī	
'who?'	as above)			
(b) <i>non-personal</i>				
'what?'	kyā	kā~ká	kyā (like kŪŋ as above)	
		kē~ké		
		kēs		
		kēsi		

3.222 Pronouns and their formation

I. *Personal*

(a) <i>First person</i>	Nom.	Obl.	PP.	Formation
sg.	mē			
	~hāũ~āũ			
		mīn~mē	-jo	mīnjo~mējo
		mē~mē	-te	mētte~mēte
		mē	-r-	mēr-a like M 2
				mēr-i like F 3
pl.	āsā			
		sān~mān	-jo	sānjo~mānjo
		sā~mā	-te	sātte~mātte
		sā	-r-	sār-a like M 2
				sār-i like F 3
		mā	-r-	mār-a like M 2
				mār-i like F 3
	āsā	all PPs. āsājo, āsāpər etc.		

(b) *Second person* Nom. Obl. PP. Formation

sg. tu

tĪ -jo tĪjo

tē -tē tētte

tē -r- tēr-a like M 2
tēr-i like F 3

Ag. sg. tu~tē~tŪd

pl. tŪsā

~tUàn -jo tUànjo

~tmàn -jo tmànjo

tUà~tmà -te tUàtte~tmàtte

tmà -r- tmàr-a like M 2
tmàr-i like F 3tUà -r- tUàr-a like M 2
tUàr-i like F 3

tŪsā -all PPs. tŪsājo, tŪsā tãĩ etc.

(c) *Third person*'he/she/it' sg. sē tĪs~tĪ tĪ -all PPs. tĪsjo~tĪjo~tĪjjo
tĪsda~tĪda tĪdda etc.

tĪsa (F. only) -all PPs. tĪsajo, tĪsada etc.

Ag. sg. tĪ -n -i tĪni~tĪnni (M.)

-n -e tĪne~tĪnne (F.)

pl. sē

tĪnā -all PPs. tĪnājo, tĪnāda etc.

II. *Demonstrative* Nom. Obl. PP. Formation(a) *Distal*

'that' sg. ó

Us~Ú~U -all PPs. Usjo~Újo~Ujjo

Usda~Úda~Udda etc.

Usa (F. only) -all PPs. Usajo, Usada etc.

Ag. sg.

U

-n -i

Úni~Únni (M.)

-n -e

Úne~Únne (F.)

pl.

ó Únă

-all PPs. Únăjo, Únăda etc.

(b) *Proximate*

'this' sg.

é

Is~I~I -all PPs. Isjo~Íjo~Ijjo

Ísda~Ída~Ídda etc.

Isa (F. only) -all PPs. Isajo, Isada etc.

Ag. sg.

I

I

-n -i

Ini~Inni (M.)

-n -e

Ine~Inne (F.)

pl.

é

Ină

-all PPs. Inăjo, Inăda etc.

III. *Reflexive*

'self'

ăppu

ăppu -all PPs. ăppujo, ăppuda etc.

sg. and pl. alike.

IV. *Relative*

(a)

ăpŋ-a like M 2.

ăpŋ-i like F 3.

(b) 'who, which'

jér-a like M 2

jér-i like F 3

	Nom.	Obl.	PP.	Formation
(c)	sg.	jē		
		jī~jī~jīs	-all PPs.	jījjo~jījo~jīsjo jīdda~jīda~jīsda etc.
		jīsa (F. only)	-all PPs.	jīsajo, jīsada etc.
	Ag. sg.	jī	-n -i	jīni~jīnni (M.)
			-n -e	jīne~jīnne (F.)
	pl.	jē		
		jīnā	-all PPs.	jīnājo, jīnāda etc.

V. Indefinite

(a)	'any'	sg.	kōi		
				kŪ~kŪ~kŪs	kŪjo~kŪjo~kŪsjo, ~kŪsi -all PPs. ~kŪsijo etc.
				kŪsa (F. only)	-all PPs. kŪsajo, kŪsada etc.
		Ag. sg.		kŪ~kŪ	-n -i kŪni~kŪnni ~kŪni (M.)
					-n -e kŪne~kŪnne ~kŪne (F.)
		pl.	kōi~kēi		
				kāīā~kēīā	-all PPs. kāīājo~kēīājo kāīāda~kēīāda etc.
(c)	'any one'	kōki			
	(sg. only)			kŪski~kŪnki	-all PPs. kŪskijo~kŪnkiyo, kŪskida~kŪnkida etc.
		Ag. sg.	kŪski~kŪnki		
(b)	'some'	kŪcch~kīcch	like kōi as above.		
	(sg. & pl. alike)				

VI. *Interrogative* Nom. Obl. PP. Formation

(a) *personal* sg. kŪŋ like kōi as in V

pl. kŪŋ

kŪnā~kŪnī -all PPs. kŪnājo~kŪnījo,
kŪnāda~kŪnīda etc.

(b) *non-personal*

'what' kyā

sg. only.

kā~ā

kājo~kājo

-jo

kē~kē~kēs

kējo~kējo~kēsjo

~kēsi

-all PPs.

kēsijo

kēda~kēsda~kēsida etc.

Ag. sg.

kē~kē

-n -i

kēni~kēni (M.)

-n -e

kēne~kēne (F.)

3.23 Verb inflection

A verb as a form of predicate expresses the action being or becoming. It is an extensive class comprising a number of syntactic subclasses. There are two types of verb roots: I. simple and II. complex.

I. *Simple*. These types contain one morpheme in

(a) *monosyllabic*

V : ɔ 'come'

VC : Ūɾ 'fly', ōl 'mix', āk 'tire'.

CV : jā 'go', pi 'drink', lē 'take'.

CVC : tār 'swim', māl 'shampoo', pēch 'tear'.

CVCC : pāk 'inflamm', pārk 'scrutinize', cāpph 'thrash'.

CCV : glā 'speak', prī 'serve meals'.

CCVC : trīɾ 'pull', nyāl 'wait', krōɾ 'curb'.

(b) *disyllabic*

VCCVC : Ūkkhər 'uproot', Ūddər 'unstitch'.

CVCVC : sāməl 'be attentive', mərək 'twist', pəkər 'call'.

CVCVCC : pəcūng 'paw', tərūng 'drag'.

CVCCVC : mŪkkər 'refuse', mūdər 'turn down', nŭkkhər 'scold', səngār 'make up'.

CVCCCVC : pəṇchyān 'recognise'.

II. *Complex type : a root and a derivative suffix*

The nuclear morpheme may be one of the following :

(a) *Single nominal root*

təpēr 'make hot', sərmā 'be shy', pəkhlē 'be unfamiliar', and other nominals as described in § 3.1253.

(b) *Reduplicated stem*

kŪrkŪr 'crow', tār̥tara 'break'.

These occur in reduplicated forms as described in § 3.144.

(c) *Stems with peripheral morpheme*

- i. kər-ā 'do (Causal I)',
- ii. kər-Uā 'do (Causal II)',
- iii. kər-ō 'do (Potential)'.

The peripheral morpheme or morphemes, suffixal in nature, occur as described in § 3.125.

3.231 Verbs and the inflection categories

Most of the verbs are very simple in their inflected categories. Only a few ones present an irregularity indicated in the context wherever they occur. The treatment of the inflection to be given here for the verb roots, namely simple and complex as mentioned above is intended to make possible a clear and unambiguous description of verb forms in a more uniform and simpler way. The morphemes listed here appear as inflectional suffixes after the verb roots. The uniform structure is :

Stem & mode morpheme & G N P as the case may be.

In some forms the categories of person and number occur as combined in the same morpheme.

The morpheme alternants, wherever they occur, are connected by a curve (~).

The three verb roots, the most popular in usage, are selected here to represent the structure of the verb :

- I. Intransitive : cāl 'go'.
- II. Transitive : mār 'beat'.
- III. Auxiliary : hō 'be'.

3.2311 Contingent mode

Verbal stem & N P endings occur as :

	int.	t.	auxiliary
Bare stem :	cāl	mār	hō
person	sg.	pl.	
first	-ā	-ie/ -ən/ -ŋ	
second & third	-e	-ən/ -ŋ	
sg.	mē cālā : tū/sē cālīe	mārā : māre	hōā hōe
pl.	āsā cālīe āsā/tŪsā/ sē	mārie : cālīən : mārən :	hōie hōŋ

Note : High tone / ' / occurs on the syllable preceding the ending -ən/ -ŋ.

-ŋ occurs after the stem ending in a vowel and
-ən elsewhere.

3.2312 Imperative mode

Verbal stem & N P endings occur as :

<i>second person</i>		sg.	pl.			
<i>ordinary</i>		-φ	-á			
<i>polite</i>		-ē/ -ēā	-nneo/ -neo			
<i>ordinary</i>	int.	t.	auxiliary			
sg.	tū	cāl	:	mār	:	hō
pl.	tŪsā	cālla	:	māra	:	hōa
		cāla				
<i>Polite</i> sg.	tū	cāllē	:	mārē	:	hōē
		cāllēā	:	mārēā	:	hōā
pl.	tŪsā	cālneo	:	mārneo	:	hónneo

I. This mode occurs only in second person singular and plural.

II. There are two forms : (a) ordinary and (b) polite.

(a) Ordinary second person singular

The suffix is zero :

cāl -φ cāl 'move'

/ - / → / ' / mid tone is replaced by high tone in the stem ending in V : hō -φ hó 'be', khā -φ khá 'eat'.

/ ' / low tone remains unchanged : nò -φ nò 'bathe'.

(b) Ordinary second person plural

The suffix is -a :

cāl -a cālla~cāla 'move', hāt -a hāṭa 'get away'.

Note : i. The form hāṭṭa does not occur.

ii. Two successive vowels coalesce into one :

khā -a khā 'eat'.

(c) *Polite second person singular*

The suffix is -ě :

mār -ě mārě 'beat', -ěā mār -ěā mārěā 'beat'.

(d) *Polite second person plural*

The suffix -nneo occurs after the stem ending in a vowel and -neo elsewhere.

/ - / → / ' / mid tone is replaced by high tone :

hō -nneo hónneo, likewise : mārneo, jánneo etc.

III. *Irregular forms in plural*

The following forms in the plural present unique irregularity :

	Ordinary		Polite	
Bare stem	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
dē 'give'	dé	dēa	dē	dīnneo
lé 'take'	lé	lēa	lē	lénneo
ré 'live'	ré	rēa	rē	rénneo

3.2313 Future mode

Verbal stem & mode ending -ng/-g- & G N endings occur as :

All persons		sg.	pl.
M.	-ng/-g	-a	-e
F.	-ng/-g	-i	ĩā
	int.	t.	auxiliary
sg. M.	mē/tu/sé	cālg-a	: márg-a : hóng-a
F.		cālg-i	: márg-i : hóng-i
pl. M.	ēsā/τŪsā/sé	cālg-e	: márg-e : hóng-e
F.		cālg-ĩā	: márg-ĩā : hóng-ĩā

Note : The future marker -ng- occurs after the stem ending in a vowel and -g- elsewhere.

/ - / → / ' / mid tone is replaced by high tone before the future marker.

3.2314 Imperfect mode

Verbal stem & mode ending -nd-/ -d- & G N endings occur as :

	sg.		pl.
M.	-nd-/d-a		-e
F.	-nd-/d-i		-iã
	int.	t.	auxiliary
sg.	mē/tu/sē	cāld-a : mār-d-a : hōnd-a~hUnd-a	
		cāld-i : mār-d-i : hōnd-i~hUnd-i	
pl.	āsā/tUsā/sē	cāld-e : mār-d-e : hōnd-e~hUnd-e	
		cāld-iã : mār-d-iã : hōnd-iã~hUnd-iã	

Note : -nd- occurs after the stem ending in a vowel and
-d- elsewhere.

The formation of this mode occurs with the help of the auxiliary verb hō :

/sē cālda hē/ ~ /sē cālda/ 'He goes'.

3.2315 Durative mode

Verbal stem & mode ending -a, -d- & G N endings occur as :

	sg.		pl.
M.	-a, -d	-a	-e
F.	-a, -d	-i	-iã
	int.	t.	auxiliary
sg.	M. mē/tu/sē	cāllad-a : mār-d-a : hōad-a	
	F.	cāllad-i : mār-d-i : hōad-i	
pl.	M.	cāllad-e : mār-d-e : hōad-e	
	F.	cāllad-iã : mār-d-iã : hōad-iã	

Note : The suffix -a- occurs before -d- the marker of imperfect mode. The formation is like imperfect mode as described in § 3.2314.

3.2316 Perfective mode

Verbal stem & G N endings occur as :

	sg.		pl.		
M.	-e, -a		-e, -eo		
F.	-i ~ -io		-iă		
	int.		t.	auxiliary	
sg. M.	céllea	:	márea	:	hóea
mē'tu/sé	~cāllea	:	~mārea	:	~hōea
	~cālla				
F.	cālli	:	māri	:	hōi
	~cāllio	:	~mārio	:	~hóio
pl. M.	ăsă/tŭsă/sé cāllee	:	'māre	:	hōe
	~cālleo	:	~māreo	:	~hóeo
F.	cālîă	:	mārîă	:	hōîă
	~cālîiă	:	~mārîă	:	~hōîă

Note : A solitary example available in the data /călîa/ is a unique irregularity in this formation.

The transitive verbs occur with the agentive case :

mē/tē/tInī mŬndu mărea~mărea 'I/you/he;
ăsă/tŭsă/tInă We/you/they 'beat the boy'.

(lit. by me/you/him/us/you/them)

The formation of this mode occurs with the help of the auxiliary verb /hō/

/mē mŬndu mărea hō/ 'I have beaten the boy'.

In this transitive formation there is a concord between the verb and the direct object which occurs in the nominative case.

3.23161 Irregular allomorphs

The following is the list of the verbs occurring in an irregular allomorph before the perfect mode ending :

	bare stem	formation with perfect base and an irregular allomorph :
'come'	ǝ	á-ea ~ ā-ea etc.
'go'	jā	g-éa' ~ g-ēa etc.
'fall'	pǝ	p-éa ~ p-ēa etc.
'die'	mār	mó-ea ~ mō-ea etc.
'eat'	khā	khádd-ea ~ khádd-a etc.
'do'	kār	kítt-ea ~ kítt-a etc.
'give'	dē	dítt-ea ~ dítt-a etc.
'grind'	pí	pítt-ea ~ pítt-a etc.
'sew'	sí	sítt-ea ~ sítt-a etc.
'carry'	ní	nítt-ea ~ nítt-a etc.
'ascend'	kó	kótt-ea ~ kótt-a ~ kó-ea etc.
'descend'	ló	lótt-ea ~ lótt-a ~ ló-ea etc.
'set'	kārò	kārótt-ea' ~ kārótt-a ~ kārò-ea etc.
'sleep'	sō	sÚtt-ea ~ sÚtt-a etc.
'bathe'	nò	nòtt-ea ~ nòtt-a ~ nò-ea etc.
'wash'	tò	tòtt-ea ~ tòtt-a etc.
'thread the needle'	prō	prótt-ea ~ prótt-a ~ pró-ea etc.

3.2317 Present mode

The verb base /hō/ has two additional modes : present and past. The following number endings occur in the present mode after the base allomorph / h- / :

sg.	-ε	mē/tū/sé	hē	'/am/are/is'
pl.	-ən	āsā/tŪsā/sé	hān	'are'.

3.2318 Past mode

The following number endings occur after the base allomorph /th- / :

	M.	F.
sg.	-a	-i
pl.	-e	-iã
sg.	M. mē/tū/sé F. mē/tū/sé	thā 'was' thī
pl.	M. ēsā/tŪsā/sé F. ēsā/tŪsā/sé	thē 'were' thīã

3.232 Participial formations**3.2321 Imperfect verb : adjective**

Verb base & participle & declinable form :

	sg.	pl.
M.	d- m	e
F.	i	iã
M.	sg. mē/tū/sé cālda : mārda pl. ēsā/tŪsā/sé cālde : mārde	'(If) I had gone' tã khāra hōnda
F.	sg. mē/tū/sé cāldi : mārdi pl. ēsā/tŪsā/sé cāldiã : mārdiã	'then (it) would have been well'.

3.2322 Imperfect verb : adverb

Verb base & -d-, & -ēã/ia/iã occur adverbially with agentive case :

	sg.	pl.
M.	d- ēã	ēã
F.	ia	iã
M.	sg. mē/tē/tīni pl. ēsā/tŪsā/tīnã	cāldēã : mārdeã
F.	sg. mē/tē/tīne pl. ēsā/tŪsā/tīnã	cāldiã : mārdiã
Ex.	/mē cāldēã é gəl sənāi/	

'(As) I went (I) related this matter',

3.2323 Perfect verb : Adjective

Perfect participle occurs in transitive verb qualifying the substantive :

	sg.	pl.
M.	-ea	-eo
F.	-io	-ĩa

M.	mē/tē/tīni	kōra cālāea hē	'have started the horse'.
		kōre cālāeo hēn	'have started the horses'.
F.	āsa/tŭsā/tīnā	hōri cālāio hē	'have started the mare'.
		kōrĩa cālāĩa hēn	'have started the mares'.

The base /hō/ occurs to emphasise the matter. It declines for gender and number with the perfect participle form :

/mē kām cālāea hóea hē/ 'I have started the work'.

The sense is conveyed for remoter past expressed in the word 'already'.

3.233 Indeclinable verb

-i occurs with the verb base to denote the sense of past :

cēlli : māri : hōi

/mē pēt khāi āea/ 'I came after eating cooked rice'.

/kəne/ 'with', /ke/ /kəri/ 'after' occur in alternate forms as :

/tū pēt khāi kəne á/ 'You come after taking the cooked
 ~/tū pēt khāi ke á/ rice' (imp. 2nd sg.)
 ~/tū pēt khāi kəri á/

/kəri/ occurs independently as :

/tū Itņi rāt kəri kē āea/ 'Why have you come so late in the night ? (lit. after doing so much night)'.

3.234 Future verb : adjective

The construction is :

base & N & -e & -a|- followed by G N C :

cālnea|-a, -i 'about to go'.

i. /mŪṇḍu cālnea|a hē/ 'The boy is about to go'.

ii. /kŪṛĩã cālnea|ĩã hān/ 'The girls are about to go'.

Likewise : ñnea|- 'about to come',

pīnea|- 'about to drink',

mārnea|- 'about to beat'.

3.235 Infinitive

The infinitive, the traditional entry form, occurs with the suffix -n-. This is described as an abstract substantive.¹

The suffix -ṇ/ -n occur after the base. The form declines like M 2.

/māta khāṇ ṭhik nī hē/ 'More eating is not good'.

/khāṇe da prèj/ 'Temperance from eating'.

Likewise : jāṇa 'going'. The declined forms are :

jāṇejo 'for going', jāṇe pār 'after going'.

3.236 Adjective with -ṇ/ -n

The suffix -ṇ followed by G N in nominative case¹ only agrees with the substantive :

M. sg. /kòṛa cālṇa hē/ 'The horse is to go'.
pl. /kòṛe cālṇe hān/ 'The horses are to go'.

F. sg. /kòṛi cālṇi hē/ 'The mare is to go'.
pl. /kòṛĩã cālṇĩã hān/ 'The mares are to go'.

1. "All the verbs that take an abstract noun as their subject, complement, predicate complement or patient noun also take a nominalised phrase in these positions", Kachru, p. 67.

3.237 Future verb with -n/ -n, -a

The suffixes -n & -a occur after the verb base in the sense of future :

/tŪsā kāl stābbi Ūṭḥna/

'You should get up soon tomorrow'.

4. SYNTAX

In the syntax of this dialect the process by which the sentences are constructed is presented here :

The minimum free form, the word, is the minimal unit of the syntax. The occurrence of the words is elucidated in the following chain procedure in steps :

I. The word forms a chain being a subject. Mostly a subject is the first link. We may call it an outer link.¹

II. Each succeeding link is an inner link in which a given word passes through a structure.²

III. Each link is a sought link, i.e. there is a choice to be made.

IV. These sought links lead to the last structure.

V. These links can only be described in terms of lexical categories.

VI. A family of the proper chains corresponding to a certain formal item is called a grammatical description. The length of a grammatical description is measured by the proper chains.

VII. There are complicated cases such as : a missing link which is a link in a chain-with-gap. Every missing link in the discourse is to be inserted at the proper place whenever there is a need in the process of structure. Such a link is always in a telescoped chain.

VIII. Thus the chain procedure can be completely described in terms of the categories of the theory of the grammar which leads first to the structure of phrases.

1. "स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता (*svatantrah kartā*), Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called *kartā* or agent. The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as देवदत्तः पचति (*Devadattah pacati*) Devadatta cooks. स्थाली पचति (*sthalī pacati*) the pot cooks".

Pāṇini, 1.4.54 vol. I, p. 191.

2. Dixon, p. 664.

4.1 Phrase and its types

The phrase is a non-minimum free form. Each phrase is a cumul. The extension occurs in various types. The following are the main types :

I. Noun-phrase. It includes substantives, adjectives and pronouns.

II. Verbal phrase.

III. Postpositional phrase.

IV. Adverbial phrase.

The structure of phrases leads to the structure of clauses. These are further described in terms of the types of a sentence which is a self-contained grammatical unit in which the structural spots are the subject and the predicate.

There are two main types of sentences : i. simple and ii. complex.

In a simple sentence there is one clause, that is a main clause occurring in a solitary position.

In a complex sentence there are two or more clauses one is a main clause and others are subordinate clauses. The role of connectors is established in joining two clauses.

Thus a set of sentences is produced by the application of this process.

4.11 Substantive phrases

Substantive phrases are endocentric constructions which have substantives as their heads. In these phrases the substantives occur as heads hence these are subjects in the sentences. These phrases consist of a single word or construction of various lengths.

The substantive as a main sentence element occurs :

(a) in the nominative or agentive case and

(b) in the oblique case followed by the postpositions /-te/ and /-jo/.

4.111 Modifiers of substantives

Occurring as adjectives these modifiers¹ are :

I. *National adjectives*

/jəpānni phə̃/ 'Japanese fruit', /mədrāssi mānu/ 'Madrasi man'.

II. *Colour adjectives*

/lāl bāndər/ 'red monkey', /spəd kòri/ 'white mare',
/hāra buṭṭa/ 'green plant', /lille kəpṛə/ 'blue clothes',
/pyūli cīk/ 'yellow earth', /kāṭiā kòṭiā/ 'black mares'.

III. *Age group adjectives*

/bādḍa pāu/ 'elder brother', /bŪḍḍe bāld/ 'old oxen',
/jUān tì/ 'young daughter', /lókā pēṇā/ 'younger sisters'.

IV. *Size group adjectives*

/pātḷa pātḷul/ 'thin plate made of leaves', /mōṭṭe sōṭṭhe/
'thick sticks', /ucci dUāl/ 'high wall', /cōṭiā bāttā/
'wide paths'.

V. *Miscellaneous adjectives*

/chēḷ kŪri/ 'beautiful girl', /tṓḷa kām/ 'rapid work', /mēṭṭhi cāl/ 'slow pace'.

The adjectives agree with the head substantive in G N C :

/khāra mānu/ 'good man', /khāre mānu/ 'good men',
/khāri bḷṭi/ 'good girl', /khārīā bḷṭiā/ 'good girls'.

1. "A modifier is an element preceding a noun and forming with it an endocentric phrase with the noun as head ; such a phrase fills the same syntactic position as the noun alone".

"The class meaning of modifiers is limitation (identification, particularization or description) of the meaning of the following noun". Bloch, p. 168-69.

4.1111 Reiteration of adjectives

In a tautological modification the reiteration of adjectives occurs before the head substantive :

- (a) /lāl lāl kēpra/ 'very red cloth',
 /mīṭṭhe mīṭṭhe phāū/ 'very sweet kisses',
 /khāri khāri maṭhyāi/ 'very good sweet',
 /mōtīā mōtīā bārīā/ 'very many years'.

(b) A modifier in a synonym occurs like the expression in English 'as coupled together with' :

- /sāra pūra kēr/ 'complete work',
 /khās jərūri gēl/ 'important matter'.

4.1112 Adjectives with comparison

The comparison is expressed by a substantive or pronoun in oblique case followed by the postposition /-te/ :

- /pūrne te lókka ram/ 'Ram younger than Pūrṇa',
 /pēṇa te khāra pāu/ 'the brother better than the sister',
 /sārēā te chēl jāgt/ 'the most beautiful child'.

4.1113 Adjectives in sequences

The adjectives phrased with various modifiers occur as :

- /bāra khāra mŪṇḍu/ 'very good boy',
 /nīkki lāl gā/ 'the young red cow'.

4.1114 Numerals

These occur before substantives as modifiers :

- /īk māṇu/ 'one man', /trē tīā/ 'three daughters',
 /dū sōā māṇūā te/ 'by two hundred men'.

4.112 Pronouns

These occur as modifiers of substantives :

/é tōtta/ 'this parrot', /sé kōri/ 'that mare'.

In oblique case pronouns agree in G N with the substantives :

/Īsa jaṇāssa te/ 'by this woman', /Īnā jaṇāssā te/ 'by these women', /Īs māṇue te/ 'by this man', /Īnā māṇūā te/ 'by these men'.

The phrases constructed by /j-/ relative pronoun following the head substantive are :

/sé mŪṇdu jēra nēṭṭhi thā gēa/ 'that boy who ran away'.

/sé kŪtti jēri hāḷkio thī/ 'that bitch who ran amuck'.

/é jaṇāssā jīnā pāṇi pārea thā/ 'these women who fetched the water'.

4.113 Relational phrase

In a relational phrase the substantive is followed by a relation marker /-d-/¹ :

(a) with substantives : /nārēsse da grā/ 'the village of Naresh', /kŪrīā da skūl/ 'the school of girls',

(b) with pronouns : /tēra kār/ 'your home', /Īsda pāu/ 'his brother' and

(c) with adjectives : /khārēā da kām/ 'the work of good (ones)', /pāle da nā/ 'name of good'.

The abstract verbal substantive in oblique case followed by /-d-/ occurs as a modifier² :

/dīkhṇe da cā/ 'ambition of seeing',

/mŪsṇe di ādt/ 'habit of stealing',

/mārṇe de dīn/ 'days of dying (i.e. death)',

/hāsṇe dīā gāḷlā/ 'the talks of laughing'.

1. Cf. "A phrasal modifier is a relational phrase with referent particle no 'of'. The relatum in such a phrase is substantive expression or a relational phrase with a different particle." Bloch, pp. 168-69.

2. "A clausal modifier is an inflected expression in the indicative (non-past or past) with or without one or more clause attributes preceding". *ib.* p. 169.

4.114 Verb phrases with participles

(a) *Verb phrases with imperfect participle* [-d-]

/gānda mŪṇdu/ 'singing boy',

/gānde mŪṇdu/ 'singing boys',

/gāndi kŪṛi/ 'singing girl',

/gāndiā kŪṛiā/ 'singing girls'.

(b) *Verb phrases with perfect participle* [-ea]

/sŪttea jāgt/ 'sleeping child',

/sŪtteo jāgt/ 'sleeping children',

/sŪttio kŪṛi/ 'sleeping girl',

/sŪttiā kŪṛiā/ 'sleeping girls'.

4.1141 Verbal adjectives

/rōndaṛ bālk/ 'weeping child',

/sōndaṛ biṭṭi/ 'sleeping girl'.

4.115 Particles

/ji/, /hōrā/ 'in honorific sense occur after substantive as modifiers :

/bāppu ji~/ /bāppu hōrā/ 'respected father',

/pāṇṭ ji~/ /pāṇṭ hōrā/ 'respected pandita'.

4.116 Adjectives with connectives and other suffixes

/khāra kāne lāmma mŪṇdu/ 'the good and tall boy'.

I. Nouns

(a) *Substantive or pronoun in oblique case & -a-*

/grāṣāla māl/ 'the wealth pertaining to village',

/bāṇeale rŪkkh/ 'the trees of forest',

/pīṇeali dŪā/ 'the medicine for drinking',

/pīṇealiā dŪāi/ 'the medicines for drinking',

/Isa|a rāng/ 'colour of this (kind)'.

(b) *Substantive or pronoun in oblique case & -jog-*

/pàtte jōggi dāl/ 'the pulse fit for cooked rice',

/mēre jōgga kēm/ 'the work fit for me'.

(c) *Substantive or pronoun in oblique case & -dē-*

/syāma déi nū/ 'son's wife like Shyama',

/tērīā déiā kāruttā/ 'the actions like yours'.

(d) *Noun in oblique case & -sai*

/sānsārcānde sái rājja/ 'the king like Sansarchand',

/Is sái pāu/ 'brother like this',

/pāle sái gāl/ 'the matter like good'.

II. *Bare verbal stem & -i & bare verbal stem & -ne & -a/- / -jog-*

/kāmāi khāne ali jānās/ 'earning woman',

/kārī lēne jōgga kēm/ 'the work worth doing'.

III. *Verb phrase with perfect participle -ea & substantive in oblique case & -a/-*

/gUnnēa krātteala āta/ 'kneaded flour of water-mill',

/mōio bāneali gīddar/ 'dead jackal of jungle'.

IV. *Substantive in oblique & bare verb stem & -ne & -a/- / -jog-*

/pāñie tārneali mācchi/ 'fish swimming in water',

/āmbre Udne jōgga cāj/ 'the aeroplane fit for flying in the sky'.

V. *Bare verb stem & -i & conjunction & bare verb stem & -ne & -a/- / -jog-*

/pājōi kane āneala prōt/ 'priest coming after being worshipped',

/sāddi kane lyōne jōggi bl̥tti/ 'the girl worthy of bringing after inviting i.e. the worthy of calling after invitation'.

VI. *Bare verb stem & -i & -kəri / -kəne / -ke & verb phrase with perfect participle*

/gai kəri thákio kŭri/ 'girl tired of singing',

/sēi kəne jággea hōea bālk/ 'boy awakened after sleeping',

/pŭnni ke kháddio chālli/ 'maize eaten after roasting'.

4.117 Substantive & substantive phrase

/chóru dina/ 'urchin Dina', /jēth mīnna/ 'jaishtha month corresponding to May-June', /rāni sita/ 'queen Sita', /rājja rām/ 'king Rāma', /mājn lōk/ 'Mahājans', /bāppu jŭlāpārsad/ 'father Jvālāprāsīd', /jāsóda ēmma/ 'Yashodā mother', /kəptān rōsnlāl/ 'captain Roshanlāl'.

Note : /lōk/ is not in the sense of people in general. This indicates a class occurring in plural.

The honorific words, titles, designations, degrees etc. occur in this type of phrase.¹

4.118 Substantive phrase expanded with various length

- i. /khāra mŪṇḍu/
- ii. /é khāra mŪṇḍu/
- iii. /é dine da khāra mŪṇḍu/
- iv. /é dine da pāgban khāra mŪṇḍu/
- v. /é dine da pāgban Īk khāra mŪṇḍu/
- vi. /é dine da ṭābbārdari pāgban Īk khāra mŪṇḍu/
- vii. /é dine da ṭābbārdari pāgban Īk khāra lókka mŪṇḍu/
- viii. /é gōradēa dineda Īk ṭābbārdari/

this fair-like Dina's one family-man

pronoun. Adj. Sub. Num., Adj.

pāgban hāsda jānda bāra srīph

fortunate laughing going very gentle

Adj. verb imperf. participle, Adj. Adj.

/sārēā te lókka mŪṇḍu/

from all youngest boy

pronoun, Adj. substantive head.

1. Sahai & Vishwajit, p. 115.

4.119 Substantive phrases : arrangement

The order of modifiers of substantives is variable in the phrases. When the construction of a substantive phrase consists of two or more modifiers the order of such modifiers is fixed but the free variation occurs also in certain combinations.

4.1191 Violation of order

In certain combinations the violation of order is apt to produce unsatisfactory utterance or alter the sense :

/pānj sēr pākke āmb/ 'net five seers mangoes'.

The violation of order alters the sense as :

(a) /pānj pākke sēr āmb/ 'five ripened mangoes one seer'.

(b) /pākke pānj sēr āmb/ 'ripened five seers mangoes'.

(c) /sēr pākke pānj āmb/ 'net one seer mangoes'.

When such a reversal occurs the phonological conditions are markedly and necessarily altered.

4.1192 Pronouns in order

In a normal discourse pronouns have precedence all over :

/é khāri bl̥t̥ti/ 'this good girl',

/tēre trē cāggū/ 'your three shirts'.

The reversal occurs for emphasis :

/khāri bl̥t̥ti é/ 'good girl this (one)'.

Pronouns occur together as modifiers in free order :

/é tēra pāu/~/tēra é pāu/ 'this your brother',

/é āpna kār/~/āpna é kār/ 'this our home',

/kōi kŭcch cīj/~/kŭcch kōi cīj/ 'something'.

4.1193 Numerals in order

Mostly the numerals precede other adjectives :

/dō gUār chóru/ 'two rustic urchins',

/trē gānde jānde mŪṇḍu/ ~ /gānde jānde trē mŪṇḍu/
'Three boys singing and going on'.

4.1194 Verbal modifiers in order

These occur first in construction with other adjectives :

/gānda jānda gránjər mŪṇḍu/
'The village boy going on singing'

/móea Īk jrilla khāṛpa/ 'dead poisonous cobra'.

4.1195 Complex modifiers

These modifiers precede and follow as :

(a) When modifiers are complex, some of them occur after the head substantive :

/tēra nā sāntu bāṛa khāra hē/
'Your name Shantu is very good'.

(b) The modifiers are separated from the head in certain combinations :

/é tīśda kām khāra khōṭṭa/ 'This (is) his work good (or) bad'.

(c) Generally single word modifiers precede the head :

/sābjia cirneaḷi pēnni drātṭi/
~ /pēnni drātṭi sābjia cīrne aḷi/
'the sharp sickle for cutting vegetable',

/bāḍṇeaḷa khŪṇḍa drātṭu/
'the blunt (small) sickle for cutting'.

4.12 Adjective phrases

The state which is named by the substantive, pronoun or adjective is described in the adjective phrase. It has the various modifiers :

I. The adjectives modify the preceding adjectives and agree in G N C :

/bāra khāra hōea/ '(It) became very good'.

/māta kŪcch khāra dīkkhea/

'(I) saw much something good i.e. I saw many things good'.

II. The adjective phrases with substantives in oblique case and with postpositions occur as :

/mālle ne pārpūr/ 'replete with wealth',

/kāmme jo tēj/ 'quick to the action',

/kōnna da ṭṭṇa/ 'deaf of ears'.

III. The adjective phrases with verb forms occur in perfect participle :

/phīṭka da marea/

'beaten by (lit. of) the curse (unfortunate)',

/pāṇie ne sījjea/ 'soaked in (lit. by) water',

/ōggi c phūkkea/ 'burnt in the fire'.

IV. The adjective phrases with verbal substantives occur as :

/sŪṇne jo pāla cānga/ 'good for hearing',

/ōṇe tāi kālā/ 'hasty for coming',

/piṇe da sŪād/ 'tasty for (lit. of) drinking'.

4.121 Adjective phrases expressing comparison

(a) The substantives or pronouns occur in oblique case with postpositions /-te/ and /-bīc/~/-/c/ :

/sārēā te bāḍḍa/ 'eldest of all',

/sābnā c khāra/ 'best of all',

/tōe te kālī/ 'more black than round plate of iron (on which bread is baked)',

/-te/ and /-c/ postpositions are preceded by /-d-/ relation marker inflected for G N C :

/sārēã de te bāḍḍa/ 'eldest of all',

/mērēã de te lókka/ 'younger than mine ones'.

(b) Adjective phrases with /-sái/, /-dé/, /-haṭ-/ , /-jog-/ , /-ba/-/ ~/-a/-/ are preceded by substantive or pronoun in oblique case :

/dÚdde sái cĭṭṭa/ 'white as milk',

/sĪbe déa pàla/ 'good like Shiva',

/kēsbe hāṭṭa pətòṛ/ 'insane like Keshava',

/kUṛia jōgga nēk/ 'honest for girl',

/səjānpāreaḷa cālāk/ 'clever of Sujānpur'.

4.122 Numerals

The numerals have various modifiers. These agree with substantive, pronoun or adjective in N C :

M.

F.

/cār pàle/ 'four good (ones)' : /cār pālĭã/

Obl. /cō pālēã/ : /cō pālĭã/.

4.123 Juxtaposition of two numerals

The sense of approximation is expressed by juxtaposition of two numerals as :

(a) *Cardinals*

/cārpanj/ 'four five', /Īkdo/ 'one two'.

(b) *Ordinals*

/sāṭṭa āṭṭha/ 'seventh eighth (M.)',

/sāṭṭi āṭṭhi/ 'seventh eighth (F.)'.

4.124 Adjective phrases modified by clauses

(a) /rāmmo bāṛi tēj hē jĭã pĪppəḷ hōndi/

'Ramo is very bitter like chilly'.

(b) /kUṛia da pàu déa kālā hē jādēa pŪṭṭha tōa/

'The brother of girl is as black as reversed iron plate (on which bread is baked)'.

4.125 Syntactically and morphologically adjectivals

/nōā tāja sənā/ 'Tell (something) new'.

/khāri khōṭṭi māt sŪna/ 'Do not hear good (or) bad'.

/mē bŪra pēla ni bōlda/ 'I do not talk bad (or) good'.

/mē khāre te khāra khānda pēnda/

'I eat (and) wear very good'.

4.126 Typical constructions

4.1261 Comparatives and superlatives

The adjectival phrases occur expanded in comparative and superlative sense more or less according to expectations :

(a) /pālēā c pēla bāṇna pōnda bŪrēā c bŪra/

'(One) becomes good among the good (ones) and bad among the bad (ones)'.

(b) /sābnā te khāra hōṇa ōkkha h̄/

'(It) is difficult to be the best of all'.

4.1262 Perfect participials

The verb perfect participle forms like /kīttea/, /kāmāea/ etc. which appear in modifying positions are adjective phrases like /sənē'ra/ 'golden'.

(a) /Is jānme c kīttea pēla āgle jānme c mīlda/

'The good performed in this birth is rewarded in the next birth'.

(b) /bŪra kāmāea ṭhik ni hōnda/ 'The bad earned is not good'.

In such an occurrence the participial phrase remains a unit.

4.1263 Imperfect participials

The adjectival phrases constructed with imperfect participle /-d-/ :

/nānga jānda khāra ni lāgda/

'Going naked does not appear good'.

/pāṭṭa līkhda gŪār bi khāra lāgda/

'A rustic (while) reading (and) writing appears also good'.

4.13 Pronoun phrases

A pronoun meaning literally, 'standing for a noun' and termed as a *domain-tie*¹ is a substitute for a substantive already mentioned in the context ; if not mentioned, it is the subject or object of inquiry. The personal pronouns occur as independent elements i.e. without being a substitute in a sentence :

/mē kàre jo jāṇa hē/ 'I have to go home'.

/tū kyā kāmāda/ 'What are you doing ?'

4.131 Modifiers

(a) Generally the modifier follows pronouns without any additional connecting element :

/mē pāṇt hē/ 'I am pandita',

/tū gUār hē/ 'You are rustic'.

/sé cīr hē/ 'He is waterman'.

(b) Pronouns used as adjectives agree with substantives in gender, number and case :

/tīs māṇue jo sād/ 'Call that man'.

/tīsa bīṭia jo sād/ 'Call that girl'.

4.132 Postpositional construction

The syntactical relations of pronouns are expressed by the use of postpositions :

/-ne/ : /sé īsne cheṛāda/ 'He is teasing him'.

/-par/ : /tīsjo kŪsi par basā ni hē/
'He has no trust in any one'.

1. Cf. "As to domain-ties, the most widespread variety of substitute is that which "replaces" nouns, or one or another subclass of nouns and noun phrases. When such substitutes are words or stems, rather than bound affixes, they are called *pronouns*," Hockett, p. 257.

4.133 Substitutes for substantives

In successive sentences substantive phrases are substituted by pronouns :

/kəsūri mēra chōṭṭa pāu hē. sé bāra lēk hē. tīni hUṇ
dāssī pās kītti. tīsjo sàb khāra ṁnda hē. tīspər kŪsijo
gŪssa ni ṁnda/

'Kishori is my younger brother. He is very intelligent. Now he (lit. by him) has passed tenth (class). He (lit. him) knows (lit. comes) mathematics well. No body (lit. to nobody) becomes angry with him (lit. on him)'.

4.134 Omission of pronouns

Pronouns are generally omitted in the successive sentences if the subject is identical in the nominative case :

/rāmesri mēri bā hē. sé māta kām kārđi. (sé) dŪa
bāṇāndi. (sé) kāprēā sīndi. (sé) kārē di dīkhpāl kārđi
kāne (sé) prōṇe pācche di khātr bi bāṇi kārđi/

'Rameshvari is my father's sister. She works much. (She) prepares medicine. (She) sews garments. (She) takes care of home and (she) entertains also the guests well'.

Note : The omission of pronouns is indicated here in the brackets.

4.135 Reiteration

I. Pronouns occur reiterated for emphasis under some typical conditions :

(a) /nīmmo de byāe c kŪṇ kŪṇ prōṇe āe/

'In Nimmo's marriage who (lit. who who) came (as) guests ?'

(b) /tīri māssi kyā kyā bārtāṇ lēi āi/

'Your mother's sister which (lit. which which) presents brought (i.e. which were the presents brought by your mother's sister ?)'

(c) /khāḍḍa c ītṇa ītṇa pāni hē/

'The water is this much in the rivulet (lit. this much, this much)'.

II. Reiteration occurs in successive sentences to emphasize the matter :

/é dūmne da mŪṇḍu hē. é bāra kajāi nīklea. Inni sāre
āmb rare/ Inni ḍāḷa pānnea/ Inni sāra chākṛēdda kīṭṭha
kīṭṭa kōne hŪṇ Inni sāra mŪlkh cŪkki cālāea/

'He is the son of *Dūmaṇa* (a caste of basket makers). He has proved very quarrelsome. He has pelted the mangoes. He has lopped the branch. He has assembled all urchins and now he has raised hue and cry (lit. by him whole country has been raised)'.

4.136 Sequence of pronouns

I. Under some peculiar statements the piling up of pronouns occurs for much emphasis :

(a) /tū cōṛṭa, tū nākāmma, tū gŪār hē/

'You (are) thief, you (are) worthless, you are rustic'.

(b) /tū tū tū tēre sīrē pāi jā, jū bēṭṭhi lŪkki tū dītti phukki/

'You, you, you on your head a louse is put, the louse has hidden, you have been burned'.¹

(c) /trŪb tāra ó hē bās ó ó ó/ 'That is the polar star, definitely that, that, that',

/cōr é hz/ 'This is the thief',

/hā é é é/ 'Yes, this, this, this'.

II. Two or more different pronouns occur together :

/é ó jē kīcch bi hē tēre bāla sābi kēsi kāḍi dé/

'This (and) that what soever is with you bring all out',

/āsā tŪā kŪṇ thē pīchle jānm é kŪsi jo kākkh pāta ni/

'Who were we and you in previous birth no body knows about this'.

1. In the field work in Kangra Valley this saying was caught in a quarrel of children. Cf. "The piling up of 'that's gives one of the peculiar constructions used in many languages as catches ; that that that that means...'". Hill, p. 372 fn.

4.137 Agreement in gender and number

The agreement of pronouns in gender and number with a substantive substituted for occurs as :

/prót bāṇṇa sān nī hē. sé karmkaṇḍi hōṇa cáida. tīśjo sārī kUsāṇḍika ṇṇī cáidi, tā tīśdi bārtesi bádi sākdi hē/

'To be a priest is not easy. He should be performer of religious rites. He (lit. to him) should know all *Kuśaṇḍika* (practicals in performing rites) then his occupation (field of clients) can extend'.

4.1371 Pronouns in plural

Pronouns occur in plural in honorific statement :

(a) /é mēre gŪru bāsdebji hān. Inā mīṇjo māta kīcch dāssea/

'This is (lit. these are) my teacher Vāsudeva, he (lit. by these) told me many things.'

(b) /tŪsā sàṇe óṇneo/ 'Come to us (lit. you, sg.).'

4.1372 Attributive function of pronouns

I. The relation marker postposition /-d-/ occurs with the pronouns linking a following substantive :

/tīśda grā kŪṇ hē/ 'Which is his village ?'

/é kŪdi bīṭṭī hē/ 'Whose daughter is this ?'

/mēra kār dūr hē/ 'My home is far away'.

/tēra kām bāṇa pŪṭṭha thā/ 'Your work was very tedious'.

II. Attributive and reflexive pronouns occur with demonstrative and personal pronouns :

/āppu/~ /āṇṇep/ 'self, by itself' occur in free variation :

(a) /é gāḍḍi āppu cāldi/ ~ /é gāḍḍi āṇṇep cāldi/

'This vehicle moves itself (automatically).'

(b) /sé āṇṇeppe di bī parbā nī kārda/

'He does not care of himself'.

(c) /mē bīje de kārē āppu gēa/

'I went personally to Vijay's house'.

4.1373 Adjectival and adverbial use

Pronouns with derivative suffixes occur adjectivally and adverbially :

(a) /mē déa bŪra kŪti nī dīkkhea/

'I have not seen bad one like this anywhere'.

(b) /rāmme di lāṛi kadei hē ʔ/

'How is Rama's wife ?'.

(c) /tīsdīā tādēīā gāllā kāne tādē syappe rénde hān/

'Like his affairs are like botherations with him (lit. his those like talks, with those like mournings remain)'.

4.138 Vocative of pronouns

Pronouns lack vocatives except some peculiar statements in second person. These occur to emphasize the matter :

/ō tū já prá/ 'O you, go away'.

/ō tŪsā mīnjo bēcā/ 'O you, save me'.

/ō tŪsā mēri gāl bi sŪṇa/

'O you, listen to me (Lit. to my word)'.

4.14 Postpositional phrases

Postpositions (PPs) are particles added to the oblique forms of nouns. The resulting constitute forms a sentence element. The function of PPs is that of connective between an antecedent which may be a substantive, pronoun or adjective. The selection of PPs varies from one speaker to another. They often overlap one another in meaning and most of them have a rich variety of meanings.

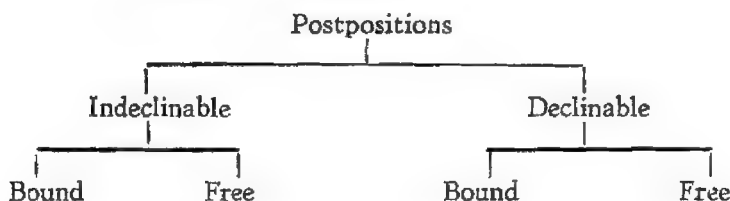
Ex. /-kəne/ 'and, after, with, by, also'

The distinctions are sometimes arbitrary and sometimes mysterious.

/-kəne/ 'with' is the darling of all speakers when they do not know whether the relation they want to express is one of cause, agency, opposition, direction or what. They apparently decide that /-kəne/ indicates among other things attendant circumstances which is sufficiently vague to cover almost anything.

Note : /kəne/ as a conjunction is given in § 4.251.

4.141 Types of postpositions



The postpositions occur after a substantive, pronoun or adjective in oblique¹ case in a fixed position. These lose their mid tone when attached to an antecedent. Other tones are retained.

4.1411 Indeclinable bound postpositions

/-jo/ 'recipient marker'

/mɪnjo pəɾà/ 'Teach me'.

/jəgne jo səd/ 'Call Jagan'.

1. Cf. "Any stem with an inflected or extended oblique is syntactically a possible axis for a postposition. Semantically an oblique that is followed by a postposition is empty except in the rare cases when it commutes with the nominative". Kelkar, p.185.

/-jo/ is a redundant postposition. It occurs in free variation before all postpositions in first and second personal pronouns :

/mInjo te/ ~ /mētte/ 'from me',

/tIjjo te/ ~ /tētte/ 'from you'.

The special construction with postpositions is tabulated as under :

		-jo	-d-	-te	tāī, pār, kane etc.
'I'	mē	Obl.	Obl.	Obl.	Obl. & -jo
'you (sg.)'	tu			Obl. & -d- & Obl.	Obl. & -d- & Obl.
'we'	āsā	Obl.	Obl.	Obl.	Obl.
'you'	tŪsā			Obl. & -d- & Obl.	Obl. & -jo Obl. & -d- & Obl.
'boy'	mŪṇḍu	Obl.	Obl.	Obl.	Obl. Obl. & -d- & Obl.
Exs.	/-jo/	/-d-/	/-te/	/-tāī/	
	'to'	'of'	'from'	'for' & other PPs.	
'I'	mInjo	mēra	mētte~mērete	mInjo tāī~mēre tāī	
'you (sg.)'	tIjjo	tēra	tētte~tērete	tIjjo tāī~tēre tāī	
'we'	āsājo	āsāda	āsāte~āsādete	āsā tāī~āsāde tāī ~sānjotāī	
'you (pl.)'	tŪsājo	tŪsāda	tŪsāte~tŪsādete	tŪsā tāī~tŪsāde tāī ~tŪṇjo tāī	
'boy'	mŪṇḍejo	mŪṇḍeda	mŪṇḍete	mŪṇḍe tāī ~mŪṇḍede tāī	

Note: Pronouns with postpositional construction have been described in § 3.222.

/-pāḥē/ 'according to'

/māu pāḥē pŪttar khāra hē/

'According to mother son is good'.

/Is pāḥē mē ānpār hē/

'According to him I am illiterate'.

It occurs after PP /-jo/ in first and second personal pronouns :

/tĪjjo pāē é māṇu hē pār mĪnjo pāē é dēbta hē/

'According to you this is a man but according to me this is a god'.

/-kanne/ ~ /-kāne/ ~ /-ne/ 'near, with'

/Īs kanne mēri nī bāṇḍi/ 'I am not in good terms with him'.

/khāre kāne cāl/ 'Go with a good'.

These occur after PP /-jo/ in first and second personal pronouns :

/mĪnjo kāne cāl/ 'Move along with me'.

/sānjo ne māt lāṛ/ 'Do not quarrel with us'.

/-tāi/, /-baste/, /-mara/ '(purpose)'

/é rōṭṭi tīs tāi hē/ 'This bread is for him'.

/pāt lālte baste hē/ 'Cooked rice is for Lalit'.

These occur after PP /-jo/ in first and second personal pronouns optionally :

/mĪnjo tāi kīcch bī nī hē tUānjo tāi mēta kīcch hē/

~ /mĪnjo kīcch bī nī hē tUānjo mēta kīcch hē/

'Nothing is for me, much is for you'.

/-te/ '(source)'

/rUkkhe te pāttar pōade/

'Leaves are falling from the tree'.

/sĪb mētte lāmma hē, pār tētte lókka hē/

'Shiva is taller than I but is younger than you'.

It occurs optionally after PP /-jo/ in first and second personal pronouns :

/sĪb mĪnjo te lāmma hē, pār tĪjjote lókka hē/

Postpositional phrase /-te/ and a preceding substantive, pronoun or adjective in oblique case is a definite actor signal though it is not a subject :

/mātte kām nī hōnda/ 'I cannot work' (lit. by me the work cannot be done)'.
 /bālke te nī cālōnda/ 'Boy cannot go (lit. by the boy cannot be moved)'.

/-sái/ 'like'

/Kānto sái kōi lēk nī hē/
 'None is intelligent like Kanta'.

/Is sái kōi gūṛa rāṅg nī hē/
 'No colour is fast like this'.

It occurs after PP /-jo/ in first and second personal pronouns :

/mĪnjo sái lĪkkh/ 'Write like me'.
 /debba tĪjjo sái gUār hē/ 'Deva is rustic like you'.

/-prant/~/-prant/, /-bád/ 'after'

/Is prant kyā hōnga/ 'What will happen after it ?'
 /mārne prant kŪcch bī nī rénda/
 'Nothing exists after death'.

It occurs after PP /-jo/ in first and second personal pronouns :

/mĪnjo prant kōi nī khēlda/
 'No body plays after my turn (lit. after me)'.
 /tUānjo prant kUṇ āi sākda/ 'Who can come after you ?'

/-tĪk/~/-tĪkkār/ 'upto'

/khĪdue gĪnia tĪk pəjā/ 'Pass the ball to Gini'.
 /Is tĪkkār pūjṇa ōkkha hē/
 'To reach upto this is difficult'.

It occurs after PP /-jo/ in first and second personal pronouns :

/mĪnjo tĪkkar é gāl ni pūjji/

'This matter did not come upto me'.

/kŪtta tĪjjo tĪk dōrea/ 'The dog ran upto you'.

/-bāl/ ~ /-bāla/ ~ /-pāl/ 'in possession of, towards'

/rājje bāl sāb kīcch hōnda/

'The king has every thing in (his) possession'.

/gribbe bāla kīcch ni hōnda/

'The poor has nothing in (his) possession'.

It occurs after PP /-jo/ in first and second personal pronouns :

/sānjo pāl dĪkkh/ 'See towards us'.

/tĪjjo pāl kyā hē/ 'What is in your possession ?'

4.1412 Indeclinable free postpositions

These occur with substantive, pronoun or adjective in oblique case :

/bĪna/, /bājji/, /bāger/, /sUa/ 'without, except'

/tĪsbĪna mēra ji ni lāgda/

'I do not feel well without him'.

/rīca bāger kām bāṇna ōkkha hē/ :

'It is difficult to accomplish the work without Richa'.

/pāṇte sUa kōi sāskrĪt ni jaṇda/

'No body knows Sanskrit except pandita'.

These occur after PP /-jo/ in first and second personal pronouns :

/tījjo sŪa hōr kŪṇ jāi sākda/

'Who can go except you?'

/sānjo bager é gāl nī bāṇni/

'This matter will not be done without us'.

These occur before substantives also :

/bager rīca kām bāṇna ōkkha hē/

/sŪa pāṇte kōi s̄skrit nī jāṇda/

/somet/ ~ /səṇe/ 'with, by, including'

/kāmle smet pānj māṇu āe/

'Five persons came including Kamal'.

/Ūs smet chē prōṇe ōnge/

'Six guests will come including him'.

/jāṛā səṇe rŪkkh daryāe c rŪṇi gēa/

'The tree was washed away in the river alongwith the roots'.

These occur after PP /-jo/ in first and second personal pronouns :

/mInjo smet chē pāu hān/

'Six brothers are including myself'.

/tījjo səṇe īk jāṇās āi/

'One woman came by you'.

These occur before substantives in oblique case :

/səṇe jāṛā rŪkkh daryāe c rŪṇi gēa/

4.1413 Declinable bound postpositions

Bound with substantives, pronouns and adjectives the following postpositions occur with gender-number concord like the declinable adjectives M 2 and F 3.

- (a) /-d-/ 'of, 's, belonging to'

/Isda nā kyā hē/ 'What is his name?'

/rātne de kītne jāgt hē/

'How many children has Ratna (lit. Ratna's)?'

/tērīā kītñīā katabbā hē/

'How many books have you (lit. your)?'

/mērēā āmbā jo māt cŪk/ 'Do not take my mangoes'.

/sāria gāi jo khēd/ 'Drive our cow'.

/tUāre chēllu sāre khētre c jUāre kārde/

'Your lambs ruin our fields'.

(b) There are many shades of meanings¹. The ideas about the phrases are introduced as :

I. Possession

/panie da kēra/ 'pitcher of water'.

/rājibbe da kār/ 'Rajiv's house'.

II. The subject of an action

/māque di khās/ 'man's desire'.

III. Object of an action

/rōṭia di pŪkkh/ 'appetite of bread'.

IV. Description

/sēre da bēcca/ 'offspring of a lion'.

1. Cf. Upraita, p. 245.

(c) The uses of postpositional phrases with /-d-/ are as follows :

I. *Attribute to substantive*

/kàre da tàni/ 'rich (in respect) of home'.

II. *Attribute to adjective*

/kàre da pòla/ 'innocent (in respect) of home'.

III. *Complement to verb*

/é mēra hē/ 'This is mine'.

/ó rājesria da hē/ 'That is of Rajeshvari'.

In these uses the cases of reversion occur without the change of meaning as follows :

/tàni kàre da/, /pòla kàre da/,

/mēra é hē/, /rājesria da ó hē/.

(d) A number of postpositional phrases consisting of adjectival /-d-/ and following substantive, pronoun or adjective functions as sentence elements. These are either subjects or complements. Final member of the phrase is a substantive. /-d-/ is inflected for G N C and agrees with the following substantive in G N C as :

I. *Subject*

/prīmla di gā āi/ 'Pramila's cow came'.

II. *Complement*

/Ūrmla nīmmo de kàre gēi/

'Urmila went to Nimmo's house'.

/tu bŪrēā de sātthē māt pó/

'Do not be in the company of the bads'.

It occurs with pronominal forms as :

I. *Subject*

/tɪsde lāl kòɾe æ/ 'His red horses came'.

II. *Complement*

/sʊmn ɪsde kàre gēa/ 'Suman went to his house'.

(e) Other postpositions occur with /-d-/ in M. oblique sg. The use of /-d-/ is optional :

/ɪs rʊkkhe de bɪc dʊd hē/~/ɪs rʊkkhe bɪc dʊd hē/

'There is a hallow in this tree'.

/tɪnā de kənnə māt jānda/~/tɪnā kənnə māt jānda/

'Do not go with them'.

/ənle de sái kōi khāra nɪ hē/~/ənle sái kōi khāra nɪ hē/

'No one is good like Anil'.

/nɔ̃ɳe de əndər sʊāl hē/~/nɔ̃ɳe əndər sʊāl hē/

'The moss is in the tank'.

Two postpositions occur with /-d-/ :

/bədmässe jo kàre de te bār kád/ 'Expel the wicked out of
~/bədmässe jo kàre te bār kád/ home'.
~/bədmässe jo kàre bār kád/

(f) The construction with /-d-/ makes up a single phrase :

/ɪnā di tì dēs páɾi bēt̪̪hi, əsā dia te kɪcch nɪ hōɳa/

'Their daughter completed ten (classes), our (daughter) will not do anything'.

/kʊsma da mʊɳdu skule cāla gēa, pār səbārna da ɪt̪̪hu hē/
'Kusuma's son went to school but (the son) of Suvarna is here'.

/-hət-/ 'like'

/bĪṭṭu tĪs hātṭa pəUān hē/ 'Bitu is wrestler like him'.

/mē ānle hātṭa kōi nī sāmjea/

'I did not recognise any one like Anil'.

/mĪnjo hātṭa kŪṇ cəlāk hē/ 'Who is clever like me?'

/Ītṭhu tĪjjo hātṭēā bədmāssā jo Jōga nī hē/

'Here is no room for wicked ones like you'.

/-jog-/ 'worthy of, for the sake of'

/lēkhrajjā jōgga kəpra nī mĪlla/

'The cloth worthy of Lekhraj was not available'.

/mĪnjo jōggi khīr bəṇā/ 'Prepare milk dish for my sake'.

/-baḷ-/ ~ /-aḷ-/ '(in the sense of possession)'

/bāḷue bāḷi kŪṇi āḷ/ 'The girl with nosering came'.

/tĪjjo āḷe kəpre gŪācci gāe/

'Your clothes have been misplaced'.

/-dé-/ 'like'

/Īs déa mātma kōi nī hē/ 'None is mahatma like him'.

/sāci rĪca déi kāmī kŪṇi hē/

'Shachi is industrious girl like Richa'.

/sŪd-/ '(in the sense of sufficiency)'

/é mĪnjo sŪdda kām nī hē/

'This work is not sufficient for me'.

/tĪs sŪdde phāḷ é hān/ 'These fruit are sufficient for him'.

/āsa sŪddi rōṭṭi pākā/ 'Cook bread sufficient for Asha'.

/-n-/ '(agent marker)'

/tĪni é gāl glāi/ 'He said this matter'.

/tĪne é gāl glāi/ 'She said this matter'.

/Īnni rōṭṭi khāddi/ 'He ate bread'.

/Īnne rōṭṭi khāddi/ 'She ate bread'.

4.1414 Declinable free postpositions

The following are the most common postpositions occurring with substantives, pronouns and adjectives in oblique case. These are rather adverbs acting in this context as postpositions.¹ The difference between adverb and postposition is illustrated as :

(a) *Adverb*

/āṇḍar/ : /lāṛi āṇḍar hē/ 'Son's wife is inside'.

(b) *Postposition.*

/āṇḍar/ : /lāṛi kàre āṇḍar hē/ 'Son's wife is at home'.

The most common postpositions are as under :

/Uppar/~/pār/, /gas/ 'on, over'

/kŪs Uppar pātthar pēa/

'Who is hit by the stone (lit. on whom the stone has fallen) ?'

/Īndra pār kōi pār nī hē/

'(There) is no burden on Indira'.

/mĪnjo Uppar bāṛa dēḍyāt hē/

'Much ado is for me (lit. on me)'.

/rŪkkhe gas cār/ 'climb the tree'.

Note : /pār/ the contraction of /Uppar/ occurs in connected speech.

/bĪc/~/c/, /āṇḍar/ 'in, within'

/kàre bĪc pāṇi hē/ 'The water is in the pitcher'.

/kŪs c pāp nī hē/ 'Who (lit. in whom) has no sin ?'

/rāmēso de hātṭe āṇḍar mātā sōḍḍa hē/

'(There) is much provision in the shop of Ramesh'.

1. Cf. Varma, Dhirendra, p. 91.

/khattər/ ~ /khatr/ 'for the sake of'

/mĪtre khattər ʔəb kĪcch kārna pōnda/

'All is to be done for the sake of a friend'.

/Īs khātr mē pāp ni kārna/ 'I shall not commit sin for this'.

/mĪnjo khatr tū bəṛa ʔkkha hōea/

'You were troubled much for my sake'.

/bār/ 'outside'

/kŪtte jo kārē bār kəḍ/ 'Drive the dog away home'.

/par/ 'across'

/kĪsti dəryāe par nī puji/

'The boat did not reach across the river'.

4.142 Adverbs as postpositions

The adverbs used as postpositions take locative case and occur after nouns in oblique case. The most common ones are the following:

/Uprē/ ~ /Uprīē/, /prāllē/ 'above'

/mŪṇdu kārē Uprē tāppada/

'The boy is jumping over the pitcher'.

/Īs Uprīē məsibt áio/ 'Misfortune has befallen on him'.

/mĪnjo prāllē chĪttu mār/ 'Jump over me'.

/tĪjjo Uprīē gōli nĪkĪ gēi/ 'The bullet passed over you'.

/oĪccē/ ~ /bĪcīē/, /cē/ ~ /cīē/ 'inside, through'.

/gā bāre bĪccē lāngi gēi/

'The cow transgressed through the fence'.

/kŪs bĪcīē tū āea/ ' (In) which (way) have you come?'

/gōli mĪnjo cīē lāngi gēi, tĪjjo cē bi, pār kŪsi jo jārē ni āi/

'The bullet passed over me as well as over you but none received injury'.

/əndrě/ ~ /əndrě/ 'inside'

/dō jēbbā kōṭṭe əndrě hān/

'Two pockets are inside the coat'.

/Iṣa kāmria əndrě jēb nī hē/

'There is no pocket inside this jacket'.

/mĪnjo əndrě kōi tākliḥ nī hē/

'I have no internal trouble (lit. inside me)'.

/bārě/ ~ /bārě/ 'outside'

/k̄are bārě kōi d̄ar nī hē/ 'There is no fear outside the home'.

/thəllě/ ~ /thəllě/ 'below, under'

/pāṇie di nālī jāmīna thəllě hē/

'The pipe of water is underground'.

/tĪni bēṭhku mĪnjo thəllě khaskāi lēa/

'He pulled out the seat below me'.

/saggi/, /kəně/, /satthě/, /passě/ 'by, with'

/lāmka dālia kəně laṭkōea/

'The bat has swung with a branch (of the tree)'.

/srēsse saggi kōi nī cāli sākda/

'No body can go with Śuresh'.

/khāre satthě cāl/ 'Move in a good company'.

/rūs hĪndUstanne passě hē/ 'Russia is beside India'.

/sājje passě kĪr/ 'Turn to right'.

/bākhi/, /bākkhě/, /redḍě/ 'near, towards, beside'

/tĪs bākhi māt dĪkkha/ 'Do not see towards him'.

/kUṛia bākkhě kōi nī āea/ 'No body came beside the girl'.

/sUre redḍě māt ḡa/ 'Do not come near the pig'.

/pIcchē/ ~ /pIchua/ ~ /pIchia/ 'behind'

/kàre pIcchē cōr āea/ 'The thief came behind the house'.

/krIsne pIchua bŪri gāl hōi jēri Is pIchua nī hōi/

'A bad matter happened in Krishna's absence which did not happen in his absence'.

/múria/ ~ /múrē/, /sámṇia/ ~ /sámṇē/, /əggē/ 'in front'

/bā|de mūrē māt cāl/ 'Do not go in front of the ox'.

/mē Is rŪkkhe mūrē khəṇḍa/

'I stand in front of this tree'.

/é gāl sārēā sámṇia hōi/ 'This matter happened before all'.

/mēre kàre sámṇē tŪlsia da būṭṭa hē/

'There is a basil plant in front of my home.'

/pāṇte əggē kōi nī bōlda/ 'No body speaks before pandita'.

/prokkha/ 'behind, in absence of'

/lōk pIṭṭhi prokkha rāje jo bī gālī dīnde/

'People abuse the king in the absence (lit. behind the back)'.

/tIjjo prokkha bāṇa jŪrm hōea/

'A great tyranny happened in your absence'.

/parē/ 'across, on other side'

/khāḍḍa parē dō krāt hān /

'There are two water-mills across the rivulet'.

/Uarē/ 'in this side'

/pāṇi dāryāe Uarē mātā hē/

'Water is much in this side of the river'.

/gābbē/ 'amidst'

/dāryāe gābbē kIsti dŪbi gēi/

'The boat sank amidst the river'.

4.143 Substantive & PP with substantive construction

/mālsa tāi tēl/ 'oil for shampoo'.

/kàre jo tyār/ 'ready for home'.

/pàtte jo tyār/ 'ready for cooked rice'.

4.144 Postpositions in sequences

Two postpositions occur together as with :

(a) *Substantives*

/tōtte te bīna/ 'without the parrot'.

/nōne blccē te/ 'from (inside) the tank'.

(b) *Pronouns*

/mīnjo pār/ 'on me'.

/tīs blccē te/ 'from him/that'.

(c) *Adjectives*

/khāre te bīna/ 'without good'.

Three postpositions occur together with first and second personal pronouns : /mīnjo te Uppār/ 'above me', /tījjo te bīna/ 'without you',

/mānjo te bār/ 'out of us'.

4.145 Reiteration of postpositions

/tū mēre kanne kanne cāl/ 'Come along with me'.

/dēbbe de pīcchē pīcchē māt hōē/ 'Do not be after Deva'.

/cūlli bīc bīc māt kūsṛē/ 'Do not be forward to the hearth'.

4.146 Postposition as a part of predicate

/kāre jo jā/ 'Go home'.

4.1461 Postposition as a sentence adjunct

Being the complement the postposition is followed immediately by the predicator :

/rīkhi chāpre gas cārea/

'Rishi has climbed the top of the roof'.

/sé khāḍa c jūmā mārada/ 'He is taking dips in the rivulet'.

4.147 Postposition as an answer

The postpositional phrases occur independently as answers to questions asked by some interrogative words.

I. Locative expression

/Uppār/, /gas/, /bīc/, /āndār/, /thāllē/, /āggē/, /pīcchē/ etc.

answer the questions :

/chālīā kūtū rākkhīā / 'Where have you put the maize ?'

/pāni kūtū hē / 'Where is the water ?'

II. *Temporal expression*

/pɪcchē/, /əggē/, /bād/, /prənt/ etc.

/pɪcchē/ 'behind', /əggē/ 'in front' answer the questions :

/gi kŪtu hēʃ/ 'Where is Gi ?'

/bād/, /prənt/ 'after' answer the questions :

/tēra byā īste pēllē hōeaʃ/

'Was your marriage celebrated before him ?'

III. *Manner of expression*

/konne/, /saggi/ 'alongwith' answer the questions :

/t ū kīlla āeaʃ/ 'Did you come alone ?'

4.148 **Omission of postpositions**

In the set elements of sentences the postpositions are omitted optionally :

/-jo / : /kàre jo cāl/ ~ /kàre cāl/ 'Go home'.

/dŪdde jo pí/ ~ /dŪdde pí/ 'Take milk (lit. drink)'.

/əndər/ : /īstro kàre əndər hē/ ~ /īstro kàre hē/

'Ishvar is at home'.

/bīc/ : /āmbre bīc tāre lāgge/ ~ /āmbre tāre lāgge/

'The stars appeared in the sky'.

/c / : /səjānpəre c hōlīā da mēlla hōnda/

~ /səjānpər hōlīā da mēlla hōnda/

'Holi fair is held at Sujanpur'.

Optionally postpositions are omitted occurring with infinitives or in a combination formed from infinitives :

/sé pāṇi pərna cālla/ ~ /sé pāṇie jo pərna cālla/

~ /sé pāṇie jo pərne tāī cālla/ 'He moved to fetch water' .

Exception : The omission of postpositions does not occur if these are followed by /-d-/ :

/sé pāṇi pərne de tāī cālla/ 'He moved to fetch water'.

4.15 Verb phrases

A verb phrase is a verb or an expression which substitutes for a verb in a given construction.

4.150 Scope

The verb phrases are the most important elements forming the nucleus of most sentences. These present a great complexity as compared to other elements in a sentence. Most of these occur with two or more elements.

4.1501 Minimal sentence

It is composed of a verb :

(a) /já/ 'Go (imp. 2nd sg.)'.

/dĭkkha/ 'See (imp. 2nd pl.)'.

/tū/ 'you (sg.)', /tŪsā/ 'you (pl.)' are assumed to be the subjects of the source sentences for the imperative mode.

(b) /nàtthā/ 'May I run (cont. 1st sg.)'.

(c) /jāda/ 'is going', /gēa/ 'went', /jánga/ 'will go' answer the questions like :

/sānti gēa/ 'Has Shanti gone ?'

4.1502 Copula

The verb phrase consisting of a copula is the simplest one :

/é sārpa hē/ 'This is a snake'.

/tū bānka hē/ 'You are beautiful'.

4.1503 Auxiliary

The verb phrase with an auxiliary is as :

/biṭṭu nōnda hē/ 'Bitu bathes'.

/sé mUāṭi dīnda hē/ 'He calls names (lit. gives)'.

4.1504 Negation

/biṭṭu nònda nī hē/ 'Bitu does not bathe'.

/sé mUāḷī nī dīnda hē/ 'He does not call names'.

4.151 Single verb stems

These may be simple, causative or potential :

(a) /jāgn pōthia páṛda/ 'Jagan reads a book'.

(b) /jāgn pōthia pāṛanda/ 'Jagan teaches a book'.

(c) /jāgne te pōthi pāṛondi/ 'The book is read by Jagan'.

4.1511 Syntactically one unit

The following verb phrases occur syntactically as one unit :

(a) Verb phrases consisting of a substantive : /pyār kār/ 'love'
(lexical unit) :

/mē pyār kārda hē/ 'I love'.

(b) Verb phrases consisting of an adjective : /pāla kār/
'favour' :

/mē pāla kārda hē/ 'I favour'.

(c) Verb phrases consisting of an adverb : /stābbi kār/ 'hasten' :
/mē stābbi kārda hē/ 'I hasten'.

(d) Verb phrases consisting of a substantive and verbal substantive : /khyāl kārna lāg/ 'begin to consider' :

/hUṇ bāppu pŪtre da khyāl kārna lāgga hē/

'Now father has begun to consider (i.e. take care of his) son.'

(e) Adjective & verbal substantive :

/bŪra kārna lāg/ 'begin to do ill',

/sé kādi bī bŪra kārna nī lāgga/

'He will never begin to do ill'.

(f) Adverb & verbal substantive :

/stābbi kārna lāg/ 'begin to hasten',

/mē stābbi kārna lāgga hē/

'I have begun to hasten'.

(g) Infinitive occurs in a complete verb phrase as :

/tīni jāṇa/ 'He has to go'.

4.152 Compound elements

The sequence of main verb and one or more operators join to form a compound verb phrase. Semantically this phrase behaves one unit. This denotes one action or process of state only and not several successive actions. These operators impart the mode of definiteness to the expression of the action. The construction is as follows :

4.1521 Bare verb stem & -i & operator V.

(a) /rōi pō-/ 'weep' : /bīṭṭi rōi pēi/ 'The girl wept'.

(b) /glāi bēṭh-/ 'complete talk, speak' :

/rāmēssō glāi bēṭṭha/ 'Ramesh has spoken'.

(c) /dīkkhi cŪk/ 'see' :

/mē dīkkhi cŪkka/ 'I have seen'.

(d) /kāri chēḍ-/ 'complete' :

/tū kām kāri chēḍ/ 'You complete the work (imp. 2nd sg.)'.

(e) /tōri kāri khā-/ 'eat after breaking'.

/īs jo tōri kāri khā/ 'Eat this after breaking'.

(f) /lēi jai kāri pāṛ-/ 'read after taking' :

/īsa pōthia prā lēi jāi kāri pāṛ/ 'Read this book after taking away i.e. take this book away and read'.

4.1522 Bare verb stem & -a & operator V.

- (a) /dīkkha kār-/ 'see regularly':
 /dina mUṇḍue jo dīkkha kārda/
 'Dina sees the boy regularly'.
- (b) /bāra kār-/ 'rain constantly':
 /é ratka bāra kārda/ 'It has been raining since the night'.
- (c) /dēa kār-/ 'give regularly':
 /pāu buṭṭēā jo pāṇi dēa kārda/
 'The brother is watering the plants'.

4.1523 Bare verb stem & imperfect participle -d- & operator V.

This occurs in the continuative or progressive sense.

/-d-/ is inflected for G N.

- (a) /khanda jā-/ 'go on eating':
 /kōṛa dāṇēā khanda jānda hē/
 'The horse is going on eating the grams'.
- (b) /pōṛdi jā-/ 'go on reading':
 /é jəṇās pōthia pōṛdi jāndi hē/
 'This woman is going on reading the book'.
- (c) /nōnde hō-/ 'use to bathe':
 /ēsā khāḍḍa bīc nōnde thē/
 'We used to bathe in the rivulet'.

4.1524 Bare V. stem & verbal sub. suffix -na'ṇa & operator V.

- (a) /dōṛna lāg-/ 'start running':
 /mUḍḍu dōṛna lāgge/ 'The boys started running'.
- (b) /khāṇa lāg-/ 'start eating':
 /gāī pōtrā khāṇa lāgdīā hān/
 'The cows begin eating of leaves'.
- (c) /mārna cá-/ 'like to die':
 /kōi ni mārna cánda hē/ 'No body likes to die'.

4.1525 Pair of near synonymous verb forms

- (a) /kŭm phĪr/ 'walk around' :
 /bāha cōī pāsēā kŭmda phĪrda hē/
 'The ascetic walks in the four directions i.e. everywhere'.
- (b) /sōc sāmj/ ~ /jān bŪj/ 'consider' :
 /tĪni kŪch ni sōcea sāmjea/ ~ /jānea bŪjjea/
 'He did not consider any thing'.
- (c) /lŪk chŪp/ 'hide' :
 'kŪrĭā lŪkgĭā chŪpgĭā/ 'The girls will hide'.
- (d) /nāṭh dōṛ/ 'run' :
 /jāgt nāṭṭhada dōṛada/ 'The child is running'.
- (e) /jāl pŪj-/ 'burn' :
 /tĪkkar jālade pŪjjade/ 'Loaves are burning'.
- (f) /tōṛ pān/ 'break' :
 /pāru kŪni tōṛe pānne/ ?
 'Who has broken the small earthen pots ?'

4.1526 Sequences of two verb forms with opposed meanings

Two verb forms with opposed meanings occur together :

- (a) /jā- jā-/ 'come go' :
 /Īs māndre c māte lōk ōnde jānde hēn/
 'Many persons come (and) go in this temple'.
- (b) /sād- kāl-/ 'call send' :
 /mā tīa jo sādḍi kālḍi thī/
 'Mother used to call and send (her) daughter'.
- (c) /chād- pākṛ-/ 'leave catch' :
 /bĪlli mūse jo chādḍadi pākṛadi hē/
 'The cat is leaving (and) catching the rat'.

- (d) /kó- ló-/ 'ascend descend' :

/lók kUāle kóade lóade/

'The people 'are ascending (and) descending the stone pathway in the hill'.

4.1527 Reiteration

In the compound elements the reiteration expresses continuance of action. The conjunctive element occurs after the reiteration :

- (a) /sé dīkkhi dīkkhi kōri rān hōi gēa/

'He became surprised after seeing regularly'.

- (b) /mē tījjo tōppi tōppi kōri thōki gēa/

'I was tired of having kept on searching for you'.

4.15271 Reiteration with alternation

In the reiteration of the verb form the vowel of the second element alternates without any semantic change :

- (a) /mār mūr/ 'kill' :

/sārpe jo mār mūr kāne prā sāt/

'Kill and throw away the snake.'

- (b) /tōṛ tāṛ/ 'break' :

/dīne āmbbe da dāla tōṛea tāṛea kāne nētṭhi gēa/

'Dina lopped the branch of the mango tree and ran away'.

- (c) /sŪn sāṇ/ 'hear' :

/sé kīcch nī sŪnda sāṇda/

'He does not hear any thing'.

4.1528 Auxiliary construction

/sāra prót gāi bājai kōri kātha kōṛda thā/

'Our priest used to recite a religious discourse with vocal and instrumental music'.

4.1529 Negative construction

/sē dīkkhi sŪpi kōri nī tōrea/

'He did not swim after seeing and hearing i.e. with all care'.

4.153 Multiverb construction

Multiverb construction from one element to five elements is as follows :

I. One element

(a) /mē pāre cŪkda/ 'I lift the burden'.

(b) Construction with a copula

/ē bāra pār hē/ 'This is a great burden'.

II. Two elements

(a) Verb & auxiliary

/mē pāre cŪkda hē/ 'I lift the burden'.

(b) Bare verb stem & -i & operator V

/mē dātyāllu khāi lēa/

'I have eaten (i.e. taken) breakfast'.

III. Three elements

Bare verb stem & -i & operator V & auxiliary

/mē tōri sākda hē/ 'I can swim'.

IV. Four elements

(a) Bare verb stem & -i & bare verb stem & bare verb stem & -d- & auxiliary

/rōṭṭi pākki jā kārḍi hē/

'The bread is in the process of cooking'.

/pāni tāpi jā kārḍa hē/

'The water is becoming hot'.

(b) Bare verb stem & -d- & bare verb stem & -d- & bare verb stem & -d- & auxiliary

/mē sējānpər jānda rēnda hōnda thā/

'I used to go to Sujanpur'.

/kŪṛi rōj gittā gāndi rēndi hōndi thī/

'The girl used to sing songs daily'.

- (c) *Bare verb stem* & -i & *bare verb stem* & -i & *bare stem* & -d- & *auxiliary*
 /mē nātṭhi jāi sākda thā/ 'I could run'.
- (d) *Bare verb stem* & *perfect ending* & *bare verb stem* & -i & *bare verb stem* & -d- & *auxiliary*
 /jāgtamba jo sāre pēse dītte jāi sākde thē/
 'All paise (i.e. money) could have been given to Jagadamba'.
 /tīs jo sārīā gālā sṇāīā jāi sākdiā thīā/
 'All matter could have been spoken to him'.
- (e) *Bare verb stem* & -i & *bare verb stem* & -a & *bare verb stem* & -d- & *auxiliary*
 /mē kāmāre jo sUāl dēssi dēa kārda thā/
 'I used to tell sums to Kumara'.
 /sé tīs jo mēja dēssi dēa kārda thā/ 'He used to punish him'.

V. Construction of verb phrases with the stems of five elements

- (a) *Bare verb stem* & -i & *bare verb stem* & -i & *bare verb stem* & -a & *bare verb stem* & -d- & *auxiliary*
 /jāsóda mInjo pāt baṇāi kōri dēa kārdi thi/
 'Yashoda used to prepare cooked rice for me'.
- (b) *Bare verb stem* & -i & *bare verb stem* & *perfect participle ending* & *bare verb stem* & -d- & *bare verb stem* & -d- & *auxiliary*
 /mēssā i rāmēne di kātha sṇāi dītti jāndi rēndi thi/
 'The story of Rāmāyaṇa used to be recited always'.

4.154 Semantic note

The types of the multiverb phrases are based on the first verb and not on the following ones. In describing the meaning and function of verb phrases the limitations are towards the structural importance with the peculiarities which are surprising to some extent :

/pāri cŪk-/ 'finish reading' has no function that could be predicted from /cŪk/ 'lift'.

It is beyond the scope of this study to give a complete analysis of the semantic components of all types of multiverb phrases.

4.16 Adverbial phrases

The adverbs as a class of uninflected words form a part of the maximal verb phrase. These do not have modifiers but modify what follows.

4.161 Fixed order

The occurrence of the adverbs is common in fixed phrases. The phrases are exemplified by the following sentences :

/kə̃nne cāl/ 'Go alongwith'. /stābbi cāl/ 'Go fast'.
 /hēṭh rākh/ 'Put down'. /bākkhē hō/ 'Get aside'. /hōḷē
 bōl/ 'Talk slowly'.

Certain substantive phrases in oblique case behave like adverbial phrases such as : /chē bāje/ :

/grēṇ chē bāje lāgga/ 'The eclipse began at 6 o'clock'.

4.162 Sequences of adverbs

/lōk rāje de gā pacā hān/

'The people are in front and back of the king':

4.163 Reduplication

The adverbs formed with the reduplicated stems occur as :

/sāb mūṇḍu bārobar āe/ 'All boys came turn by turn'.

/pāṇi sērasar bāgada/ 'The water is flowing rapidly'.

4.164 Reiteration

The reiteration of adverbs occurs to emphasise the matter :

/hōḷē hōḷē cāl/ 'Move (very) slowly'.

/stābbi stābbi pāṛ/ 'Read (very) quickly'.

4.165 Reversals

Typically these occur in the reversed order as :

/cāl stābbi/ 'Go fast'.

/cāl hōḷē hōḷē/ 'Move (very) slowly'.

4.166 Pronominal forms

As illustrated in § 3.124 the pronominal forms occur in the phrases in the following examples :

I. *Place* : /kŪtu/ 'where' :

/mē kŪtu jã/ / 'Where should I go ?'

/inci 5/ 'Come by this way'.

II. *Manner* : /ĩã/ 'thus' :

/gŪar mānu ĩã glãnde/ 'The rustic men speak like this'.

III. *Time* /ĩbbē/ 'now'

/mē ĩbbē pāt khádda/ 'I ate the cooked rice now'.

IV. *Reason* : /kē/ 'why'

/tū mŪãĩ kē kádda/ 'Why do you call names ?'

V. *Purpose* : /kēt/ 'for what'

/māta pēsa kēt lēna/

'For what should much money be taken ?'

These adverbs occur in all positions :

/ĩtthu/ 'here'

(a) *Initial* : /ĩtthu mē sé khəṛērea/ 'I made him stand here'.

(b) *Medial* : /mē ĩtthu sé khəṛērea/

/mē sé ĩtthu khəṛērea/

(c) *Final* : /mē sé khəṛērea ĩtthu/

4.1661 Sequences

Two adverbs occur together :

(a) /Itã Utã māt phĩrē/ 'Do not wander hither and thither'.

(b) /jállu kállu bi hāk póngi khĩt māri dēã/

'Whenever (there) is a call, run away'.

(c) /jēdũ kēdũ bi bēl mĩldi mē pári lēnda/

'Whenever I have time I read'.

(d) /jĩã kiã bi hōe é kām kārna hē/

'Somehow or other this work is to be done'.

4.1662 Reiteration

The reiteration of these adverbs occurs for emphasis :

- (a) /ĩã ã mãt kã/ 'Do not do like this'.
 (b) /mũnu kĩa kĩa glãnda/ 'How does the babe speak?'

These adverbs piled up for much emphasis occur in the peculiar conditions :

- /tĩni mēre kãn khĩnje ã ã ã/
 'He pulled my ears up like this this this (manner)'.

4.1663 Use of postpositions

Other syntactical relations occur by the use of postposition :

- /-jo/ : /tũ kũtu jo cãllea/ 'Where are you going ?'
 /-te/ : /é pãthar kũtu te pēa/ 'From where has this stone fallen ?'
 /bĩna/ : /mã ítthu bĩna kũti ni jãna/ 'I have to go nowhere except this place'.

4.1664 Attributes

The attributive function of these adverbs with /-d-/ as relation marker is as :

- (a) /tēra jãnm kãdũ da hē/ 'When does your (date of) birth fall ?'
 (b) /ĩbbe da kãm tyār hē/ 'Work of this time is ready.'
 (c) /é phãl tãdũ de tóreo hãn jãdũ dĩã chãlĩã bãdĩã thiã/ 'These fruit have been plucked up at the time when the maize crops were harvested'.

4.1665 Linkers

The adverbs occur as linkers. The sentences are introduced by the forms :

- (a) /ĩ-/ by the corresponding form /t-/ :
 /bãrkha ítthu hõi títthu ni hõi/ 'The rain was here (but) not there'.
 (b) /ĩ-/ by the corresponding form /k-/ :
 /bãrkha ítthu hõi kũti hõrti ni hõi/ 'The rain was here (but it) was not elsewhere'.

- (c) /ĭ-/ by the corresponding form /j-/ :
 /bārkhā ĭtthu hōi jĭtthu nī cáidi thī/
 'The rain was here where (it) was not needed'.
- (d) /t-/ by the corresponding form /j-/ :
 /mē tĭtthu jāna hē jĭtthu tū nī jánga/
 'I shall go there where you will not go'.
- (e) /k-/ by the corresponding form /j-/ :
 /mē kŪti nī gēa jĭtthu tē dāssea/
 'I did not go anywhere where you pointed'.

4.1666 Reversals

The instances of the reversed order occur as :

/t-/ , /k-/ , /j-/ occur by the corresponding form /ĭ-/

and /j-/ by /t-/ :

/t-/ by the corresponding form /ĭ/ :

/tĭtthu nī hōi bārkhā ĭtthu hōi/

'The rain was not there (but it) was here'.

4.167 Participial forms

4.1671 Imperfect participle

/-dēā/ : /tĭni cāldēā é glāea/ 'He told this while going'.

/tĭni jāndēā é gīt gāea/ 'He sang this song while going'.

4.1672 Perfect participle

/-ē/~/-ēā/ : /mēre bōllē é kām nī hōea/~/ mēre bōllēā é kām nī hōea/

'This work was not done on my say'.

/mēre sŪñē bāgēr kām māt kār/

'Do not work without my instruction (lit. listening to me)'.

/sé bāgēr dĭkkhē sŪñē kām kārda/

'He works without consideration (lit. without seeing and hearing)'.

4.2 Simple sentences

4.20 Introduction

A discourse can be divided into sentences. The intonational characteristics which are inherent in the sentences are not described here. The elementary sentences are called the sentences of the kernel of the grammar. The sentences which cannot be shown to be expansions of other sentence form an irreducible kernel of the sentence types.

The syntactic characteristics are the valences of the word, its syntactic possibilities of use and combination in a sentence. The patterns by which the words participate in the structure of a sentence fall under two categories : i. inflected and ii. uninflected.

The nominals and verbs are inflected. The concord is reached by gender-number-case concord. Mostly every sentence has a verb as its nucleus. The minimal sentence is composed of a verb as /já/ 'Go (imp. 2nd sg.)'. However fragmentary sentences occurring as greetings, answers to questions or the like occur without the verb phase.

The inflected words are the particles. These serve as introducers or connectors occurring with any kernel sentence.

The patterns of the sentence by which the potential and causal forms participate are illustrated as under :

	<i>Subj.</i>		<i>V.int.</i>	/mē cālda/ 'I move'.
	<i>Ag. pot. patient</i>		<i>V.int.</i>	/mētte cālōnda/ 'I can move'.
<i>Ag. pot. patient</i>		<i>Subj.</i>	<i>V.int.</i>	/mētte mōṭr cālōndi/
			<i>Caus.</i>	'I move the motor (lit. motor can be moved by me).'
	<i>Subj.</i>	<i>Obj.</i>	<i>V.t.</i>	/mē mUṇdue jo mārda/
				'I beat the boy.'
<i>Ag. pot. patient</i>		<i>Subj.</i>	<i>V.t.</i>	/mētte mUṇdu mārōnda/
				'I can beat the boy (lit. the boy can be beaten by me).'
<i>Subj. (new)</i>	<i>Ag. Caus.</i>	<i>Obj.</i>	<i>V.t.</i>	/iē mētte mUṇdue jo mārUānda/
				'He causes me to beat the boy (lit. he causes to beat the boy by me).'

Note : i. Ag. pot. is agent of the type used with potential e. g. noun & Obl. & -te.

ii. Ag. Caus. is agent of the type used with causals¹ e. g. noun & Obl. & -te.

iii. Ag. pot. is agent of the type used with potential. It can be replaced by patient.

4.201 Potential formation

The analytico-synthetic characteristic of potential formation in the dialect under investigation represents the subject as acted upon. Saying traditionally the transitive verbs fall in the category of the passive voice and the intransitive verbs as always used in neutral construction fall in the domain of impersonal voice. These two categories are presented here under the head of potential :

/kər-ō/ 'to be able to do',

/phən-ō/ 'to be able to beat'.

/cəl-ō/ 'to be able to go',

/həs-ō/ 'to be able to laugh'.

1. Cf. "For a correct generation of sentences containing the causal verbs, it is necessary to explain why the first sentence, in the following pair of sentences with the verb *kər* — 'to do', has a matching sentence with the causal form of this verb whereas the second sentence does not.

mŪṇḍe ne gīt yād kīṭta sī

'The boy memorized the song'

mŪṇḍe ne rāmnū yād kīṭta sī

'The boy thought of Ram'

mōn ne mŪṇḍe nu gīt yād kārāya sī

'Mohan helped the boy memorize the song'

The sentences above illustrate just one of the several restrictions on the formation of causal verbs in MSP sentences. Grammarians of the language do not describe them at all." Bahl, p. 170.

MSP = Modern Standard Panjabi.

These forms occur in the synthetic tendency as illustrated in § 2.44. The forms in the analytic tendency occur in free variation with the auxiliary verb /hō/. The conjunctive participle /-i/ occurs after the stem preceding /hō/¹ :

- /kāri hō/ 'to be able to do',
- /phānni hō/ 'to be able to beat',
- /cālli hō/ 'to be able to go',
- /hāssi hō/ 'to be able to laugh'.

The following verbs occur in the analytic tendency only :

- /jāi hō/ 'to be able to go',
- /ai hō/ 'to be able to come',
- /sōcci hō/ 'to be able to think'.

4.202 Negation

The negation in this dialect is indicated by the following particles :

/nā/, /nāĩ/, /māt/, /nī/

/nā/, /nāĩ/ occur independently as answers to questions like :

/tē pāt khādda/ 'Have you eaten the cooked rice ?'

/nā/ also occurs in a complex sentence mostly in initial position² :

/nā tīni mē nyālea nā mē gēa/

'Neither he waited for me nor I went'.

/māt/ occurs in imperative mode :

/pāt māt khā/ 'Do not eat the cooked rice'.

/nī/ occurs elsewhere :

/mē nī cōlda/ 'I do not move'.

1. Cf. "As compared with analytical passive in jā, the passive in 𑂔 has a peculiar force in Bhojpuri, intimating not that a thing is done but that it can be done. The passive in 𑂔 is found in Bengali, Oriya, Assamese and other Magadhan speeches. It is found in eastern and western Hindi also." Tiwari, p. 165.

2. Cf. "(In Bangru) It may negate any other word also in the utterance. In that case it is often repeated and can be translated in English by "neither ... nor". Or it may serve as a negative connective and placed between the words to be negated. E. g. na ram na moti "neither Ram nor moti". ram na moti "neither Ram nor moti". na jā na jān dyũ/ jā na jān dyũ "Neither shall I go nor allow anybody else to go". Jagdeva Singh, p. 68.

In stylistic utterances it occurs in final position to expect an affirmative answer to a question :

/kyānne pār chl̥ttu māre thē nāʔ/ 'Did you jump over the camp-fire ?
(I hope you did)'.

/thōē thōē cálgā nāʔ/ 'Will you go carefully ?
(I hope you will go)'.

/kyā/ the interrogative pronoun occurs in the sense of negation in some styles :

/mē kyā cālda/ 'I do not move'.

/thóri/ occurs typically in the sense of negation. It does not occur initially :

/mē thóri cālda/ 'I do not move.'

4.21 Sentences : element construction

4.211 One element sentence

A minimal sentence occurs in a single segmental morpheme. This may be a statement or a question :

/ā/ 'yes', /ō/, /nō/ 'Hallo !'.

Other examples are cited in § 4.3.

4.212 Two element sentence

Consisting of a subject and a predicator this occurs with the following :

(a) Substantive as head

Subject	Predicator	
/gapēs	jāda /	'Gopesh is going'.

(b) Pronoun as head

/sē	khāda /	'He is eating'.
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(c) Adjective as head

/pāla	hóngā /	'Good will be'.
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(d) Verbal abstract substantive as head

/mārna	hóngā /	'Death will be'.
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4.213 Three element sentence**(a) Complement as a substantive**

Subject	Complement	Predicator
/ gā 'cow	dŪd milk	dĪndi / gives'.

(b) Complement as a pronoun

/ pāu 'brother	mĪnjo me	phānda / beats'.
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(c) Complement as an adjective

/ pāu 'brother	gŪār rustic	hē / is'.
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4.214 Four element sentence

	Subjectival adjunct	Complement	Subject	Predicator
(a)	/ ótthu 'there	āmbre pār sky-in	tāre stars	dŪssade / are being seen'.
(b)	/ Ītthu 'here	khāḍḍa bākkhē dō rivulet - near	sāṛkā hān / two roads are'.	

These adjuncts occur freely added to all sentences containing the recognizable sentence elements.

4.22 Simple sentence with complements and adjuncts

The subject and one or two complements with an indefinite number of adjuncts occur in a simple sentence :

adjunct : /sāṛia lōngnia aḷia pādria jāmīna c
'our Longani-belonging-to level land-in

subject : bāre khāre ūce ūce bājŪrgā de barēā de prāṇe
very good tall tall ancestors-of times-of old
āmbā de rŪkkh
mangoes-of trees

first complement : sārēā grāē dēā mānūā jo
all village-belonging-to men-to

second complement : bāre sUādle gIddeale āmb
very tasty full of kernel mango fruit

predicator : kāīā bōrīā te lāgatar dīnde cāle āe hān/
many years-from constantly have been giving'.

'In our table-land of Longani very good and very tall old mango trees of the ancestors' times have been giving constantly the mango fruit which are very tasty and full of kernel to all men of the village'.

In such a remarkable long construction the segmentation of the clause is characterised by the unity of breath. The pauses and intonation not mentioned here serve for the emphasis of syntactical groups within the sentence and for separation each other. The modifiers in the construction occur as one indivisible whole in the clause. Thus it is united by a single breath and separated from other words by a pause.

4.23 Simple verb clause patterns

These are illustrated by the following examples of sentences consisting of inner elements such as patient, subject, recipient, object and predicator. The outer elements like adverbs of time, place etc. as cited in § 4.214 are not considered here :

i. Verb

/á/ 'Come (imp. 2nd sg.)'.

ii. Subject & verb

/ mūsa nāseā /
'rat ran'.

iii Subject & object & Verb

/ bābbē pŪttar phānnea /
'father son beat i.e. the father beat the son'.

iv. Subject & recipient & object & verb

/ gŪru cellejo pŏtthi dīnda /
'teacher pupil-to book gives, i.e. the teacher gives book to the pupil.'

v. *Subject & Predicator & verb*

/kəsōri khāra hē /
 'Kishori good is'.

vi. *Subject & object & predicator & verb*

/tīni mū kāḷa kīṭṭa /
 'he-by face black did i.e. he made his face black'.

vii. *Patient & subject & verb*

/nīsia jo kōṇṇa jōcda/
 'Nishi-to cloth appeals i.e. the cloth appeals to Nishi.'
 /bōbbo jo tṇp thā/
 'sister-to fever was i.e. sister had fever'.

viii. *Patient & subject & predicator & verb*

/mīnjo rōṭṭi khōri lāgdi/
 'I-to bread good applies i.e. I like the bread'.

4.24 Syntactic note

In agreement the connection of the subject with the predicator is realised in person, gender and number.

4.241 Position of subject

The place of a subject in a sentence is not fixed precisely. It usually occurs in the beginning of a sentence or in the second position preceded by locative and temporal adjuncts.

(a) *Locative*

/sāṇṇā khētrā c mātīā kṇḍōlīā lāggīā hān/
 'In our fields (there) are many ladyfingers'.

(b) *Temporal*

/pīchle mōnne mēra tṇu rājpāre thā/
 'Last month my father's elder brother was in Rajpur'.

The patient usually precedes the subject :

/mīnjo sUkkh hōea/ 'I had comfort',

The recipient follows the subject and precedes the object in general :

/mē rīca jo pōtthi dītti/ 'I gave the book to Richa'.

4.242 Position of predicator

The place of predicator in a sentence is fixed rather firmly. It usually occurs at the very end of a sentence :

/mēria bōbbo da nā pŪbna hē/
'My sister's name is Bhuvana'.

4.243 Inversion

The cases of inversion occur in certain contexts :

/pŪbna hē mēria bōbbo da rā/
'Bhuvana is my sister's name'.

4.244 Subject concord

The verb agrees with the subject in number and where it is possible in person, gender and case :

- (a) /bōld nāssa/ 'The ox ran'.
- (b) /gā nāssi/ 'The cow ran'.
- (c) /rām kōne lāchmāṇ pāu thē/
'Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were brothers'.
- (d) /kāsālyā kēkei kōne sāmītra mārāññā thīā/
'Kaushalyā, Kaikeyī and Sumitrā were the queens'.
- (e) /pārma cūnni byāso kōne kīrpu mīttar thē/
'Parama, Chuni, Vyasa and Kirpa were friends'.

4.245 Object concord

The verb agrees with the object in G N :

/gāi kà khādda/ 'The cow ate grass'.
/mŪṇḍūē kāsse māre/ 'The boy gave blows'.
/māū tì phēnni/ 'The mother beat the daughter'.
/cāccē tīā phāññā/
'The father's younger brother beat the daughters'.

4.246 Agreement with person

The verb agrees with the subject in person. If there are several subjects of different persons they occur as follows :

I. If the subjects occur with the connective /kāne/ the first person has the preference over the second and third :

/mē tū kāne sé khélde hān/ 'I, you and he play'.

II. The second person has the preference over the third :

/tū kāne sé mīttar hān/ 'You and he are friends'.

4.247 Agreement in number

The violation of agreement in number occurs as follows :

The subject occurs in singular and the verb in plural in honorific statements¹. This occurs often in speaking to or of persons relatively higher social or official standing :

/Ik mātma āe/ 'One mahatma came'.

/tāu gāe/ 'Father's elder brother went'.

As a pronoun the plural occurs in the sense of esteem and politeness :

/tŪsā cāla/ 'Please move'.

It is sometimes used in a mock respectful tone :

/é dírgsutri āe/ 'This dilatory (fellow) came'.

Mostly the verb agrees with the subject in number and where it is possible in person, gender and case :

/kŪṛi rōndi hē/ 'The girl weeps'.

If there are several subjects in singular the verb agrees with the nearest one :

(a) /rāme da pŪttar kāne dēbbe di nū āi/

'The son of Rama and the daughter of Deva came'.

1. Cf. "The replacement of the singular vs. plural contrast by the honorific number also conditions the suspension of the gender contrast, and in that case the concord between the subject noun and the verb for both masculine as well as feminine nouns is in terms of masculine and plural." Bahl, p. 165.

- (b) /tɪsɔi khābbi jāng ɪk pēr kōne sājji bā t̪ Ūṭi gēi/
 'His left leg, one foot and right arm were (lit. was) fractured'.
 (c) /tɪsdi ɔbri Ūān kōne bāṭhk bōṛi khōri bē/
 'His inner room, living-room and parlour are (lit. is) very good'.

If the subjects occur in part singular and in part plural the verb agrees with the nearest one :

- /chē bɪṭiā kōne ɪk mŪṇḍu āea/ 'Six girls and one boy came'.
 /ɪk mŪṇḍu kōne chē bɪṭiā āiā/ 'One boy and six girls came'.

Here the different subjects have been considered singly. The verb agrees with one of them — the next one to it — and is understood with others.

4.248 Disagreement in number

The verb does not agree with the subject in number if it is a name of material, collective or an abstract substantive :

- /dāl kōne pət bāṇea/ 'The pulse and the cooked rice have
 /pət kōne dāl bāṇi/ (lit. has) been prepared'.

In a number of cases the subject occurs in plural and material is enumerated in singular but the verb agrees with the nearest one :

- (a) /dō cijjā kōṛi kōne pət bāṇea/ 'Two things, cooked rice and
 /dō cijjā ṛāt kōne lāṛi bāṇi/ curry have (lit. has) been prepared'.
 (b) /māte padārth khāṭiā mōṛiā dālī pālda rāṇṭa kōne mādra
 bāṇea/ 'Many dishes sour and simple pulses, *paldha*
 (preparation of curd), *raṇṭa* (preparation of sour element
 and dry fruit) and *madhura* (preparation of ghee, dry
 fruit and grams) have (lit. has) been prepared'.

Note : These are the special dishes served in Kangra Valley.

4.25 Object

The object is expressed in two ways :

- (a) One is by a substantive which has no supplementary relational marker, the substantive, pronoun or adjective.
 (b) Another is by a substantive with the postposition.

It is not only an individual word but a whole construction can function as an object in the sentence. Included are :

(a) Attributive construction i.e. a group of words consisting of a modified and one of several modifiers.

(b) A group of words consisting of several equal members connected by means of the copulative conjunction : /kāne/, /hōr/, /yā/ :

/mē khāra yā bŪra kām nī kĪtta/

'I did not do good or bad work'.

In listing a large number of substantives the conjunction /kāne/ occurs before the very last of them :

/mē crōṭṭu, thālu kāne gārbi lēi/

'I took cooking vessel, plate and a large cup'.

These sentences termed as sentoids¹ represent independent objects in such a type of construction.

4.251 /kāne/ as a postposition and conjunction

The parallel constituents are linked by /kāne/ in the following sentences :

(a) *Conjunction*

/sé mŪṇḍue//kāne kŪria dĪkkhada/

'He is seeing the boy and the girl'.

(b) *Postposition*

/sé mŪṇḍue kāne//kŪria dĪkkhada/

'He is seeing the girl with the boy'.

/sé mŪṇḍue//kŪria kāne dĪkkhada/

'He is seeing the boy with the girl'.

In modifying constructions two modifiers occur linked by this conjunction. These may or may not occur as a part of a single phrase.

/dō chēl kāne jŪan mŪṇḍu zē/

'Two beautiful and young boys came'.

Note : /-kāne/ as a postposition has been described in § 4.14.

4.252 Recipient

Answering the question /kŪjo/ 'to whom?' is expressed by a single substantive or by an entire construction which occurs with the postposition /-jo/ :

/mē lāria jo glāea/ 'I said to the wife'.

1. Cf. "We introduce the term sentoid to refer a string of formatives with a unique associated S. D. Sentoids are thus unambiguous syntactically and represent the truly independent objects generated by the syntactic component." Katz and Postal, p. 24.

4.3 Simple verbless sentences

4.31 Vocatives

The particles in the uninflected and inflected forms occur as vocative expressions in the form of sentences.

4.311 Uninflected forms

/ō/, /ē/, /ōe/, /bō/, /nō/, /hālo/, /mātu/ and an honorific particle /ji/.

4.312 Inflected forms

I. Defective substantives with vocative case only

	Singular	Plural
M.	/ārea/, /bīra/ ~ /bīrea/	: /āreo/, /bīreo/
F.	/ārie/, /bīri/ ~ /bīrie/	: /ārio/, /bīrio/.

II. Substantives in vocative case

M.	/bājia/	: /bājio/ 'Master'
F.	/bajyānie/	: /bajyānio/ 'Mistress'.

III. Adjectives in vocative case

M.	/pālea/	: /pāleo/ 'Good'
F.	/pālie/	: /pālio/.

4.32 Substantive as an answer

I. Nominative case

/raja/ 'King', /mŪṇḍu/ 'Boy', /bītṭi/ 'Girl' answer the question: /é kŪṇ hē/ 'Who is this?'

II. Oblique case

/bōria/ 'On the tank', /kāre/ 'At home', /hātṭe/ 'In the shop' answer the question: /tēra pāu kŪtu hē/ 'Where is your brother?'

4.33 Adjective as an answer

/hōra/ 'Green', /bāḍḍa/ 'Big', /khāra/ 'Good' answer the question: /rŪkkh kādēa hē/ 'What kind of tree is?'

4.34 Pronoun as an answer

I. *Interrogative.* /kʏǎ/ 'What?', /kŪŋ/ 'Who?'.
 II. *Others.* /mē/ 'I', /tū/ 'You', /sé/ 'He/She' answer the question :
 /pēllē kŪŋ áeaʔ/ 'Who came first?'

Pronouns in relative expression forming adjective phrases as

/mēra/ 'My'. /tēra/ 'Your'. /Isda/ 'Of this'. /tIsda/ 'His' answer the question : /kŪda khŪskət khōra bēʔ/ 'Whose handwriting is good?'

4.35 Postposition as an answer

/Ūppar/ 'On'. /bIc/ 'In'. /thālle/ 'Below'. /kōne/ 'With' answer the question : /pāni kŪtu hēʔ/ 'Where is the water?'

4.36 Adverb as an answer

/stabbi/ ~ /chōʔ/ 'Hurriedly'. /hōlē/ 'Slowly'. /cāncək/ 'Suddenly'. /barābər/ 'Regularly' answer the question : /tū kʏǎ ŋgaʔ/ 'How will you come?'

4.361 Pronominal adverbs

/Itthu/ 'Here', /tItthu/ 'There' etc. answer the question : /kōm kŪtu hōeaʔ/ 'Where was the work done?'

/iǎ/ 'This way' answer the question in the interrogative : /kiǎʔ/ 'How?'

/tállu/ 'Then' answer the question in the interrogative : /kálluʔ/ 'When?'

4.37 Interjections

The following are the uninflected words which as a class occur frequently as style utterances.

I. *Commons*

These are stated here in the sense of surprise :

/a/, /hē/, /ó/, /hāla/, /ólle/.

II. *Affirmatives.* /bā/, /hū/.

III. *Negatives.* /ū/, /hī/.

IV. *Others.* /bá/ 'very good', /thú/, /chí/, /thū/, /phIʔ/ 'Fie' and also a substantive in vocative case :

/rām/ 'Rāma'. /ōmma/~ /māu/ 'Mother'. /máraj/ 'Maharaja'.

4.4 Emphasis

The emphatic particles are the constructions built up by the following particles which occur with a high pitch to focus the attention on the sentence element and also signal the contrast to join sentences together in sequences. Seldom they occur initially and finally. Here are some of the most frequent and important particles by which the emphasis is expressed in the present dialect. These fall in the unflected category.

4.41 Particles

/hi/ ~ /i/ 'only'

/pàù hī gēa/ 'Brother went only'.

It occurs between reiterated nouns for emphasis :

/rŪkkh i rŪkkh/ 'Trees only trees'.

/bi/ 'also'

/mēra pàù bī gēa/ 'My brother also went'.

/hi/ ~ /i/ and /bi/ occur in the same sentence :

/mēra pàù bī kŪara hī hē/ 'My brother is also bachelor'.

/jè/ 'after all'

It occurs in a phrase with the emphatic intonation :

/s' jē gēa kòrē/

'After all he went home (so why worry ?)'.
.

/tā/ 'lo ! then, but'

It occurs in all positions :

/dēbba tā gēa/ 'Lo ! Deva went'.

/tā mē gēa/ 'Then I went'.

/tā tā/ 'function lexically as a one unit :

/tā tā sē gēa/ 'Lo ! he went'.

/sāi/ ~ /pàla/ These frequently occur after the particle /tā/. The sense of ultimatum is denoted by these particles :

/sē jāe tā sāi/ ~ /sē jāe tā pàla/ 'I see if he goes'.

/pə̀la/ occurs in initial position also :

/pə̀la jē mē jā tã/ 'Well, if I go then.'

/hã/ occurs initially only in the sense 'of course, however, yes' :

/hã ĩni bōllea/ 'Yes, he said'.

/hã tã/ occur together :

/hã tã mē bōllea/ 'Of course I said'.

/hē/ This emphatic particle occurs in all positions. Mostly it occurs with /tã/ :

/hē tã sē kãṇa pər bāṇa syāṇa/

'He is one-eyed but very prudent'.

4.411 Negative particles

/thóri/ '(in the sense of negation)'

/tū thóri gēa/ 'You did not go'.

/kyā/ 'over all (in the sense of negation)'

/rājja kyā sē tã pərmātma thā/

'He was not Raja but the God'.

/nā/, /ni/, /nã/, /nãĩ/ '(in the sense of negation)'

/nã/ is a substantive (F. sg.). It occurs here as a particle in the following context :

/tĩni nã kĩtti/ 'He refused'.

/nãĩ/ ~ /ni/ the usual negatives occur as :

/mē nãĩ gēa/ ~ /mē ni gēa/ 'I did not go'.

4.42 Reiteration

Reiteration occurs for emphasis by the following classes :

4.421 Substantives

/kə̀re kə̀re c lə̀rāi thi/ 'The quarrel was in every house'.

/pə̀u pə̀u lə̀re/ 'All brothers quarrelled'.

4.422 Adjectives

/mē khōra khōra dīkkhea/ 'I saw very good'.
 /bābbe bābbe bāṇa/ 'Be very clean'.

4.423 Pronouns

/é é cūr hē/ 'This is thief (surely)'.
 /kŪni kŪni ḍṇa hē/ 'Who is to come?'

4.424 Postpositions

/pāggā kenne kenne sōb kīcch hōnda/
 'Every thing becomes by fortune (definitely)'.
 /pyŪsse soggi soggi nḍa/ 'Run alongwith Piyush'.

4.425 Particles

/hār kōmme jo tī nā nā kārda hē/
 'You do negation to every work'.

4.426 Verbs

/sé gēa gēa/ 'He went soon'.
 /nyàl nyàl / 'Wait, wait !'.

4.427 Adverbs

/sé kādi kādi ṇda/ 'He seldom comes'.
 /kēcch kēcch lē/ 'Come near'.

4.43 Reversals

Typically the emphasis is expressed by the reverse order in a sentence :

/ḍṇḍu dīkkhea mē/ '(Only) I saw the actor'.

4.44 Intonation pitch level /4/

The extrahigh pitch level /4/ is the harbinger of the emphasis :

/²tĪjjo ¹khŪnnu ¹mĪlla/ 'You got *khunnu* (insignificancy)'.

4.5 Complex sentences

The complex sentences consist of two sentences as input in the present structure. Most of these occur with a two-subject—complement-predicator. These have relation associate and verbal head.

Linguistically the following sentences are independent but stylistically these form complex sentences occurring as the parts of a single large construction :

- (a) /sāntu dŪd pinda kāsōri cá pinda/
'Santu takes milk, K:shori takes tea'.
- (b) /prēm̐ma glānda kUa| bōṛa lām̐ma hē/
'Prema says (that) the stone pathway in the hill is very long'.

4.51 Position of vocative

The vocative is not directly connected with either the subject or the predicative part of the sentence. Generally the vocative occurs in the beginning of a sentence, but to emphasise the matter it occurs also medially or finally. Optionally the particles /ō/, /nō/, /jī/, /hālo/ precede the vocative substantive :

- (a) *Initial.* /ō mĪtra|mēri bās̐ri bājjadi/
'O friend, my flute is playing'.
- (b) *Medial.* /mēri bās̐ri ō mĪtra|/bājjadi/
/bājjadi ō mĪtra|/mēri bās̐ri/
/mēri bās̐ri bājjadi|/ō mĪtra/
- (b) *Final.* /bājjadi mēri bās̐ri|/ō mĪtra/

4.52 Sentences expandable by conjunctive particles

I. By the use of /-ea/ —the suffix for the perfect participle of a verb form—the sentences are linked morphologically as :

- (a) /syāñēā da glāea bād c khāra lāgda/
'The saying (lit. spoken) of elders appeals to in the long run'.
- (b) /gŪrūā da cāṇḍea kēdi nī pŪlda/
'Trained by the preceptors (one) never forgets'.

The sentences containing /-ea/ can occur as dependent. These can be expanded by the use of the conjunctive particles. These transforms are known as variant forms of sentences :

- (a) /jē ... sē/
/jē syāñēā glāea sē bād c khāra lāgda/
- (b) /jēra ... sē/
/jēra gŪrūā cāñdea sē kādi nī pŪlida/

II. The independent sentence can enter in a larger construction by the addition of a conjunctive particle :

- (a) /cēlla kārē āea jīni ōpre da lāj kītta thā/
'The mendicant who cast off spells (lit. did the treatment of spells) came home'.
- (b) /Īkko māṇu jīttea jījo lōkkā mājta dītti/
'Only one man won to whom the (other) men rendered support'.

The main sentence can occur as discontinuous :

- (a) /cēlla jīni ōpre da lāj kītta thā kārē āea/
(b) /Īkko māṇu jījo lōkkā mājta dītti jīttea/

III. The imperfect participial forms inflected for G N link the sentences morphologically without any conjunctive particle :

- (a) /bōrkha bōrdia māmma gēa/
'The mother's brother went (while it was) raining'.
- (b) /bīṭiā jandīā mā rōṇa lāgi pōndi/
'Mother starts weeping (when) the girls go'.
- (c) /rōj sūrje cārde mē nōṇa jānda/
'I go to take bath daily (when) the Sun rises'.
- (d) /tārēā nīkkəḍdēā kŪtte pōṇkṇa lāgi pōṇde/
'The dogs begin barking (when) the stars appear'.

These constructions are expandable by the use of a verb and a conjunctive particle :

(a) /bārkha bārdi thī kōne mām̐ma gēa/

or by the use of /jāllu ... tāllu/ 'when ... then'
/jā ... tā/

/jāllu bārkha bārdi thī tāllu mām̐ma gēa/

(b) /jā kŭṛiā jāndiā tā mā rōṇa lāgi pōndi/

(c) /rōj jāllu sūṛj cārda tāllu mē nōṇa jānda/

(d) jā tāre nīkkāḍe tā kŭtte pōnkṇa lāgi pōnde/

IV. Substantive—substantive—verb construction

(a) /syāma gittā gāndi bāṛi khāri lāgdi/

'Shyama appears very good (when she) sings songs'.

(b) /bīje bāṛia khāria jāga c sēr kārda/

'Vijay goes for a walk to a very good place'.

These constructions are expandable by the addition of a pronominal form as in :

(a) /jēr-/ : /syāma jēri gittā gāndi bāṛi khāri lāgdi/

(b) /jītthu ... sē/ : / bīje jītthu sēr kārda sē bāṛi khāri jāga hē/.

4.53 Conjunctions and their occurrences

These comprise the classes of individual words i.e. they do not take inflectional endings. They do, however, admit of compounding as /jīā/ 'like this', /kīā/ 'how'.

The common conjunctions are as follows :

/kāne/, /hōr/ 'and', /jē/ 'if', /pāḍ/ 'although', /sāgō/ 'on the contrary', not only, so, but', /pāi/ 'that', /kī/, /jā/ 'that, or' etc.

These are the types of subordination or dependence :

/pāi/ subordinating conjunction with very broad meaning occurs in the following types of subordinate clauses :

(a) *Objective*. 'that'

/mē jānda pāi sē kām nī kārī sākda/

'I know that he cannot work'.

- (b)
- Purpose*
- . 'in order to'

/mē Ítthu āea pài tēre ne glā/

'I came here in order to speak to (lit. with) you'.

- (c)
- Cause*
- . 'so that'

/tīni cōr déa tēssea pài sé māri jāe/

'He beat the thief in such a manner so that he might die'.

- (d)
- Time*
- . /bābbē pŪcchea pài gēḍḍi āi/

'The father inquired if the train had come'.

/jē/ 'if' subordinating conjunction introducing a conditional subordinate clause :

- (a) /mē kāṇk khāridṇi hē jē dāssā rāpēīā māṇ hóngi/

'I shall purchase the wheat if it sells ten rupees a maund'.

/jē ... tḡ/ 'if ... then'

- (b) /jē kāṇk dāssā rāpēīā māṇ hóngi tḡ mē khāridṇi hē/

/jē ... tḡ/, /jē nī ... tḡ/ 'if not ... then'

- (c) /jē é pà hē tḡ mē kāṇk jrūr khāridṇi hē jē nī hē tḡ kōi jrūrt nī/

'If the rate is this then I must purchase the wheat if (it) is not then no need'.

/kī/ 'and, or'

/mē glāea kī tīni kītta/

'I said and he did'.

/nīru pàr cŪkga kī dīna/

'Will Niru lift the load or Dina ?'

/kī/ 'as soon as'

/mē cōgāne c pūjja kī mōṭr cāli gēi/

'As soon as I reached the green plain the bus had started'.

/kiā kī/ 'because, since'

/mē tīsbəl nī gēa kiā kī tē nī thā glāea/

'I did not go to him because you did not say'.

/hālli/ ~ /hālli tāi/ 'still, so far'

/sé dō bārīā kangra réa hālli tāi kangri nī sāmjda hē/

'He stayed in Kangra for two years still he does not understand Kangra!'

/jāllu/ 'when'

/jāllu mē kārē jā rōṭṭi mīli jāndi hē/

'When I go home the bread is procured'.

/jāllu ... tāllu/ 'when ... then'

/jāllu mē kārē jā tāllu rōṭṭi mīli jāndi/

/jāllu tāi~jāllu tikkār ... tāllu tāi~tāllu tikkār/

/jāllu tāi
/jāllu tikkār mē kārē jā tāllu tāi
tāllu tikkār rōṭṭi mīli jāndi/

/jīā/ 'as soon as'

/jīā mē āea tīsda mī phāk Ūri gēa/

'As soon as I came the colour of his face changed soon'.

/jīā ... tīā/ 'as ... so'

/jīā mē glāea tīā tīni kōmāea/

'As I said so he did'.

4.531 Reversals

The order of the sentence elements occurs reversed i.e. the dependent sentence can occur before or after the main sentence :

/jērīā cijjā tīni dītīā sāb Ikki te Ik bādi kōne thīā/

'The things which he gave all were superior to one another'.

The order occurs reversed as :

/sāb Ikkitē Ik bādi kōne thīā jērīā cijjā tīni dītīā/

4.532 Sentence frames

The frames are ready to fit various conjunctions as :

- (a) /mē kàre jánga ... sē hētṭē jánga/
 'I shall go home ... he will go to shop'.

Here the following conjunctions can fit :

/tā/ 'then', /kāne/ 'and', /pār/ 'but', /jē/ 'if', /jállu/ 'when',
 /tállu/ 'then' and /k'ā ki/ 'because'.

- (b) /...mēra kām bāṇi gēa ... mē nādōṇ gēa/
 '...my work was done ... I went to Nadaun'.
 (c) /...jāgt jōre ne rōṇda ... mā ciccu pyāṇdi/
 '...the child weeps bitterly ... the mother gives (the child)
 the breast'.

The following conjunctions can occur here :

- /jē ... tā/ 'if ... then'
 (d) /...mārd rōṭīā pākān ... jāṇāssā kyā kārṇ/
 '...men bake breads ... women do what?'

The following conjunctions can occur here :

/jē ... tā/, /jállu ... tállu/, /jītṭhu ... tītṭhu/
 'if ... then', 'when ... then', 'where ... there'.

Note : The account of the presence or absence of phrasal boundaries within the construction linked by these conjunctions is not given here.

4.533 Absence of conjunction

In certain types of subordinate clauses, conjunctionless subordination occurs as :

/ji cánda mē sīma dīkkhi ā/
 '(My) heart longs (that) I may see the cinema'.

Note : Here is the absence of /pāi/ 'that'.

4.54 Types of subordinate clauses

I. *Attributive subordinate clause*

/jéra mŪṇḍu Ítthu thā sé mēra pāu hē/
 'The boy who was here is my brother'.

II. *Object subordinate clause*

/tĪni glāea pài mē ónga/
 'He said that he (lit. I) would come'.

III. *Conditional subordinate clause*

Usually these occur in the beginning of the complex sentences :

/jē tĪni ōṇa hē tã dās/
 'If he has to come then tell'.

IV. *Concessive subordinate clause*

/hālli ki tĪnā da kōm ṭhik hē pār phĪri bi kōi nī mānda/
 'No body agrees even their work is alright'.
 /sé nī āea hālli ki mē hākkā bi pāĩā/
 'He did not come although I summoned him'.

V. *Subordinate clause of time*

/jállu sé kārē gēa tĪsjo bōṛi phōn pēi/
 'When he went home much beating was for him i.e. he was beaten much'.
 /jállu mē Ūṭṭhea hēcchi pyàg thi/
 'When I rose it was dawn'.

VI. *Subordinate clause of purpose*

/mē Īstāĩ āea thā pài tĪsjo dĪkkhā/
 'I came so that I might see him'.

VII. *Subordinate clause of cause*

/mē tĪsne nī glānda k fā kī sé mēre ne lārda/
 'I don't speak to (lit. with) him because he quarrels with me'.

VIII. *Subordinate clause of consequence*

/tĪni bŪrĭā mUaḷi káḍḍĭā jĪste mĪnjo bāṛa khājja hōea/

'He abused badly that is why I am pained so much'.

4.55 **Direct and indirect discourse**

The examples of indirect discourse are very rare. The discourse given by the third person occurs usually in the first person in the direct discourse.

In the complex sentences the direct discourse occurs with the subordinating conjunctions :

/pəi/ and /ki/ form a sort of special type of object clause :

/tĪni glāea ṛāi mē ōnga/ 'He said, "I shall come"'.
 /tĪni tUānjo pŪcchea ki mē kŪtu jā/

'He asked you where he would go (lit. he asked you that I may go where)'.

/māu mĪnjo glāea ki tū stūpḡIr jā/

'The mother said to me, "Go to Sarupgir"'.
 /māu mĪnjo glāea ki tū stūpḡIr jā/

APPENDIX

I. Sample texts

These are transcribed phonemically and are translated into English.

(a) hōa kōne sūrj
 'Wind and Sun'

hōa kōne sūrj lsa gälla pər bēssade thē pài ēsā dūīc
Wind and Sun this matter-on disputing-were that us two-between
bāra tāgra kŪn hē / ltnec gārm cōla pēnnea lk māsāpphər
much strong who is. meanwhile warm cloak wearing one traveller
Utā te ai nīklea / tīnā dūīc é phēsla hōea pài
there-from came out. these two-between this decision was that
jēra māsāphre de cōle jo pēllē lUái dē sé i bāra
who traveller-of cloak-to first causes to take off he only much
tāgra mēnnea jánga / Íde prant hōa bāre jōre kōne cēlna
strong will be considered. this-after wind great might-with to blow
lāggi pər jīā jīā sé jōre kōne bāddi gēi tīā tīā māsāpphər cōle jo
began but as as it might-with increased so so traveller cloak-to
āpne jīlme c kŪtda gēa / khīr hōa āpna jātn chāri dītta /
own body-on tightened. at last wind own attempt was given up.
phīri sūrj tējia kōne cādeā kōne tīni māsāphrē stābbi āpna cōla
then Sun force-with rose and that traveller-by soon own cloak
tUāri dītta / Is mara hōa jo mēnna pēa pài ēsā dūīc
took off. this-for wind-to was confessed that us two-between
sūrje jo i mēta bāl hē /
Sun-to only much strength is.

Free translation

THE WIND AND THE SUN

The Wind and the Sun were disputing which was the stronger, when a traveller came along wrapped in a warm cloak. They agreed that the one who first made the traveller take off his cloak should be considered stronger than the other. Then the wind blew with all his might but the more he blew the more closely did the traveller fold his cloak around him and at last the wind gave up the attempt. Then the Sun shone out warmly and immediately the traveller took off his cloak and so the wind was obliged to confess that the Sun was the stronger of the two.

ANALYSIS

The text is analysed into seven sentences of simple and complex structure. The breakdown of the sentences is given in the word classes once with reference to the relevant section and page of the book. The element occurring again is referred to as above giving page and line in the present analysis.

i. Complex sentence with two subject-complement-predicator with the subordinating conjunction *päi* § 4.53 (p. 267)

hōa Sub. F. Nom. sg. first subject in the sentence § 3.2112, F4 (p. 181).

kāne Conjunction linking two independent sentences with the following predicator § 4.251 (p. 259).

sūrj Sub. M. Nom. sg. second subject in the sentence § 3.2111 M1 (p. 178).

Isa Pronoun, proximate Obl. Sg. qualifying sub. *gāl* § 3.221, II (b) (p. 186).

gälla Sub. F. Obl. sg. complement § 3.2111 F 3.1 (p. 181).

pər Declinable free postposition § 4.1414 (p. 231).

béssade thē Compound element, auxiliary construction § 4.1528 (p. 242).

béssade Durative M. pl. of *bés*, § 3.2315 (p. 196).

- thē Past M. pl. of verb base hō § 3.2318 (p. 199) and auxiliary § 4.1503 (p. 237).
- pài Conjunction, subordinating in the complex sentence § 4.53 (p. 267).
- ēsā Pronoun first person Nom. pl. § 3.221, I (a) (p. 185).
- dūī Num. cardinal Obl. § 3.2121 Set V (p. 183),
Num. in adjective phrase § 4.122 (p. 214).
- c Declinable free postposition § 4.1414 (p. 231).
- bāra Adj. 1. M. Nom. sg. qualifying pronoun kŪn § 3.2111 M 2 (p. 179).
- tāgra Adj. 2 as above bāra.
- kŪn Pronoun, Inter. personal Nom. sg. § 3.221, VI (a) (p. 187).
- hē Present sg. § 3.2317 (p. 198) and copula § 4.1502 (p. 237), § 4.153, I (b) (p. 243).
- ii. Simple sentence with complements and adjuncts § 4.22 (p. 253)
- Itne Pronoun M. Obl. sg. Adj. § 3.124 (a) (p. 160).
- c Declinable free postposition § 4.1414 (p. 231).
- gārm Adj. M. Nom. sg. qualifying sub. cōla § 3.2111 M 1 (p. 178).
- cōla Sub. M. sg. § 3.2111 M 2 (p. 179) with omission of postposition -jo § 4.148 (p. 236).
- pēnnea Perfect participial form of pēn qualifying māsāpphər, used in adjective phrase § 4.1262 (p. 215), expandable by the use of a verb thā and a conjunction jīni § 4.52, II (p. 266).
- Ik Num. Cardinal Nom. sg. in the prenominal position qualifying māsāpphər § 3.2121 Set I (p. 182).
- māsāpphər Sub. M. Nom. sg. subject in the sentence § 3.2111 M 1 (p. 178).
- Utā te Pronominal form in adverbial phrase with the use of postposition -te § 4.1663 (p. 247).
- Utā Pronoun Adv. place, distal § 3.124 (b) (p. 160).
- te Indeclinable bound postposition § 4.1411 (p. 223).

- ai nĭkĭea** Compound element. Bare verb stem 3 & -i & operator verb nĭkkə! § 4.1521 (p. 239), § 4.153, II (b) (p. 243), simple sentence with complements and adjuncts § 4.22 (p. 253).
- ai** Indeclinable verb form in the sense of past § 3.233 (p. 200).
- nĭkĭea** Perfect M. sg. § 3.2316 (p. 197).
- iii. Complex sentence with attributive subordinate clause § 4.54 (p. 271)
- tĭnǎ** Pronoun third person Obl. pl. § 3.221, I (c) (p. 186).
- dǎic** as above p. 275, line 6-8.
- é** Pronoun, demonstrative, proximate § 3.221, II (b) (p. 186).
- phēsla** Sub. M. Nom. sg. subject in the sentence § 3.2111 M 2 (p. 179).
- hōea** Perfect M. sg. § 3.2316 (p. 197) and Copula § 4.1502 (p. 237).
- pǎi** as above p. 275, line 3.
- jéra** Pronoun, relative M. sg. § 3.221, IV (b) (p. 186).
- məsāphre** Sub. M. Obl. sg. § 3.2111 M 1 (p. 178).
- de** Declinable bound postposition as a complement § 4.1413 (d) II (p. 228).
- cōle** Sub. M. Obl. sg. § 3.2111 M 2 (p. 179).
- jo** Indeclinable bound postposition, recipient marker § 4.1411 (p. 221).
- péllě** Num. Ordinal M. locative sg. § 3.2121 set II (p. 182) and § 3.21, III (p. 172).
- IUái dē** Compound element. Bare verb stem IUá & -i & operator verb dē, predicator § 4.1521 (p. 239), § 4.153, II (b) (p. 243).
- IUái** Indeclinable verb form in the sense of past § 3.233 (p. 200).
- dē** Contingent third person sg. § 3.2311 (p. 193).

sé Pronoun third person Nom. sg. § 3.221, I (c) (p. 186) linked with jéra § 4.52 (p. 266).

i Emphatic particle § 4.41 (p. 262).

bāra Adj. M. Nom. sg. § 3.2111 M2 (p. 179) in adjective phrase § 4.12 (p. 213).

tāgra as above p. 275, line 11.

mānnea jánga Syntactically one unit § 4.1511 (p. 238).

mānnea Perfect M. sg. § 3.2316 (p. 197).

jānga Future M. sg. § 3.2313 (p. 195).

iv. Complex sentence with concessive subordinate clause admitting of compounding elements § 4.53 (p. 267).

I Pronoun, demonstrative, proximate, Obl. sg. § 3.221, II (b) (p. 186).

-de as above p. 276, line 20.

-prant Indeclinable bound postposition § 4.1411 (p. 224).

hōa as above p. 274, line 20.

bāre Adj. M. Obl. sg. qualifying jōr § 3.2111 M2 (p. 179).

jōre Sub. M. sg. § 3.2111 M 1 (p. 178).

-kāne Indeclinable bound postposition § 4.1411 (p. 223).

cāl̥na lāggi Compound element. Bare verb stem cāl̥ & verbal Sub. suffix -na & operator V. lāg. § 4.1524 (p. 240), simple sentence with complements and adjuncts § 4.52 (p. 253).

pār Conjunction in concessive subordinate clause § 4.54, iv (p. 271).

jīā jīā Reiterated pronominal form in adverbial phrase § 4.1662 (p. 247).

jīā Pronoun, relative, Adv. manner § 3.124 (b) (p. 161).

sé as above p. 277, line 1.

jōre kāne as above p. 277, line 18-19.

báddi gēi Compound element. Bare verb stem bād & imperfect participle -d- & Operator V. jā in progressive sense, predicator § 4.1523 (p. 240), § 4.153, II (b) (p. 243).

báddi Imperfect F. sg. § 3.2314 (p. 196).

gēi Perfect F. sg. § 3.2316 (p. 197).

tīā tīā Reiterated pronominal form in adverbial phrase § 4.1662 (p. 247), conjunction § 4.53 (p. 269).

tīā Pronoun Adv. manner, distal § 3.124 (b) (p. 161).

māsāphar as above p. 275, line 27.

cōle jo as above p. 276, line 22-23.

āpne Pronoun, relative M. Obl. sg. § 3.222, IV (a) (p. 189).

jīlme Sub. M. Obl. sg. § 3.2111 M1 (p. 178).

-c as above p. 275, line 8.

kŭṭda gēa Compound element. Bare verb stem kŭṭ & imperfect participle -d- & Operator V. jā in progressive sense § 4.1523 (p. 240).

kŭṭda Imperfect M. sg. § 3.2314 (p. 196).

gēa Perfect M. sg. § 3.2316 (p. 197).

v. Simple sentence with complements and adjuncts § 4.22 (p. 253)

khīr Adverbial phrase khīr chāḍi dītta § 4.16 (p. 245).

hōa as above p. 274, line 20.

āpna Pronoun, relative M. Nom. sg. § 3.222 IV (a) (p. 189).

jātn Sub. M. Nom. sg. § 3.2111 M1 (p. 178).

chāḍi dītta Compound element. Bare verb stem chāḍ & -i & operator V. dē in the sense of completion, predicator § 4.1521 (p. 239), § 4.153, II (b) (p. 243).

chāḍi Indeclinable verb form in the sense of past § 3.233 (p. 200).

dītta Perfect M. sg. § 3.23161 (p. 198).

vi. Complex sentence with a conjunctive particle *kāne* § 4.52, III (p. 267)

phīri Adverbial phrase *phīri nīkīlea* § 4.16 (p. 245).

sūrij as above p. 274, line 24.

tējia Sub. F. Obl. sg. § 3.2112 F 3 (p. 180).

-kāne as above p. 277, line 19.

cādea Perfect M. sg. § 3.2316 (p. 197).

kāne as above p. 274, line 22.

tīni Pronoun, third person M. Ag. sg. § 3.222, 1 (c) (p. 188).

māsāphrē Sub. M. Ag. sg. § 3.21 (p. 171).

stābbi Adverbial phrase *stābbi tuāri dītta* § 4.16 (p. 243).

āpna as above p. 278, line 11.

cōla as above p. 275, line 19.

tuāri dītta Compound element. Bare verb stem *tuār* & *-i* & operator verb *dē*, predicator § 4.1521 (p. 239), § 4.153 II (b) (p. 243).

tUāri Indeclinable verb form in the sense of past § 3.233 (p. 200).

dītta Perfect M. sg. § 3.23161 (p. 198).

vii. Complex sentence with the subordinating conjunction *pāi* § 4.53 (p. 267)

Is Pronoun, demonstrative, proximate, Obl. sg. § 3.222, II (b) (p. 189).

-mara Indeclinable bound postposition in the sense of purpose § 4.1411 (p. 223).

hōa Sub. F. Obl. sg. § 3.2112 F 4 (p. 181).

-jo as above p. 276, line 23.

māṇṇa pāa Compound element. Bare verb stem *mān* and verbal Sub. suffix *-ṇa* & operator V. *pō*, predicator § 4.1524 (p. 240).

māṇṇa Infinitive § 3.235 (p. 201).

pēa Perfect M. sg. § 3.23161 (p. 198).

pāi as above p. 275, line 3.

āsā dūī c as above p. 275, line 5-8.

sūrje jo Patient with the subject bāl § 4.23, vii (p. 255).

I as above p. 277, line 3.

māta Adj. M. Nom. sg. qualifying bāl § 3.2111 M 2 (p. 179).

bāl Sub. M. Nom. sg. § 3.2111 M 1 (p. 178).

hē Copula § 4.1502 (p. 237), § 4.153, I (b) (p. 243).

(b) khúe di laṛai
Well-of quarrel

Ikki māṇue āṇṇia gālia c khú bāṇUāea sāria
one man-by his street-in well caused to be made whole
gālia jo pāṇi pārne da sUkkh hōi gēa / kUcch dInā prant
street-to water drawing-of facility became. some days-after
khúeale di āṇṇe pāṛesie kāne laṛai hōi pēi / Is pīcchē tīni
well owner's his neighbour-with quarrel arose. this-after him-by
pāṛesie jo pāṇi pārne di nā kāri dītti / hUṇ pāṛesie jo bāṇi
neighbour-to water drawing-of refusal did. now neighbour-to great
mUškāl phāsi / é dīkkhi kāne tīni khú mUllē lai lēa kāne pālle
difficulty struck. this seeing with him-by well cost-by taken and first
malke-jo pāṇi pārne di nā kāri dītti /
owner-to water drawing-of refusal did.

hūṇ pālla māl k bākille bēla gēa kāne pUchṇa lōgga pāi kiā
now first owner pleader-to went and to ask began that how
mInjo tā khúe te pāṇi pārna mīlle kāne mēre pāṛesie jo
me-to indeed well-from water drawing may get and my neighbour-to
nā mīlle / bākille glāya é tā sān gāl hē / dōa kāri dé/
not may get. pleader-by said this indeed easy matter is. law-suit do.

dalti c bākille glāya pāi Ini khú bōccea hē pāṇi ni
court-in pleader-by said that this-by well sold is water not
bēccea / pāṇi līda hē / dalti iā i phēsla kāri dītta /
sold. water this-of is. court like this too decision did.

hUṇ phīri pállē mālķē āṇṇe pāṛēsīe jo khúe te pāṇi pārne te
 now again first owner-by his neighbour-to well-from water drawing-from
 rōkki dītta / hUṇ sī pāṛēssi bēkille bēla gēa kēne glāṇa lāgga pāi
 prevented. now he neighbour pleader-to went and to speak began that
 mē tā khú Is tāi mUllē lēa thā pāi Isda mālķ bāṇi kēne
 I indeed well this-for cost-with taken was that its owner becoming-with
 mē āppu tā pāṇi pērā kēne pälle mālķe jo nī pārna
 I myself too water may draw and first owner-to not to draw
 dēā / mē rāpēia bī khārcea kēne gāl bī nī bāṇi /
 may give. I rupee also spent and matter also not made.
 mē cānda hē pāi kīā nā kīā dālt é phēsle kārī dē pāi mē bī
 I want that somehow court this decision may do that I also
 pāṇi pērā kēne é bī pāre /
 water may draw and this also may draw.

bēkille glāya khāra īā i hōi jānga / tū dōa kārī dē /
 pleader-by said well like this too will be, you law-suit do.
 dālti c bēkille glāya pāi khúe de pállē mālķē khú i bēccea hē
 court-in pleader-by said that well-of first owner-by well only sold-is
 pāṇi nī bēccea hē / Is tāi ījo hUkm dītta jāe pāi khúe tē
 water not sold-is. this-for him-to order may be given that well-from
 āṇṇe pāṇie kōḍḍi lē nī tā khúe da nōā mālķ dās rāpēie rōj
 his water may remove otherwise well-of new owner ten rupees day
 rājanna lēnga /
 demurrage will take.

é sUṇi kēne dūi sōccea pāi khúe te sāra pāṇi
 this hearing-after both too thought that well-from whole water
 kīā kōḍḍi sākda hē / khir tīnā rajinōā kārī lēa pāi āsā
 how removed can be. at last them-by agreement was done that we
 dōe pāṇi pāri lēa kārīe / dālti de phēsle tā īā i hōnde rēnge /
 both water may draw. court-of decisions indeed like this too will be.

Free translation**DISPUTE ABOUT A WELL**

Some man had a well dug in his street. This afforded facility of drawing water to the whole street. After some time a quarrel arose between the owner of the well and his neighbour. At this he prevented his neighbour from drawing water. Now the neighbour felt a great difficulty. Seeing this he purchased the well and prevented the previous owner from drawing water.

Now the first owner went to a pleader and asked, "How, indeed, can I be allowed to draw water and my neighbour be not allowed to do so?" The pleader said, "This, indeed, is an easy affair. Bring a law-suit."

In the court the pleader said, "He has sold the well only and not the water. The water belongs to him." The court decided exactly in this way. Now again the former owner prevented his neighbour from drawing water from the well.

Now the neighbour went to the pleader and said, "I, indeed, had bought the well that becoming its owner I myself may draw water and may not allow the former owner to do so. Although I spent the money yet the problem was not solved. I want that the court may decide somehow that I also may draw water and he too may do so."

The pleader said, "All right, thus it will be. Bring a law-suit." In the court the pleader said, "The former owner of the well had sold the well alone and not the water. Thus he may be ordered to remove his water from the well, otherwise the new owner of the well will charge ten rupees a day as demurrage."

Hearing this they both thought, "How can the whole water be removed from the well?" At last they made an agreement, "Let both of us draw water. The decisions of the court, indeed, will go on in this very way."

II /khUṇe/ 'proverbs'

The speakers of Kāṅgarī have their own proverbs. They deal with homely things in a homely way as depicted in the following examples :

- (a) /lābrūā tā kīcch ni lāgda pār bābrūā māta kīcch
'(on) lips indeed nothing costs but (on) fried cakes much
lāgda /
costs'.

Cf. Bare words buy no barley.

- (b) /jōreaḷe da pātthar kUṇaḷa /

'mighty's stone on the summit of a hill with its stone path.'

Cf. might is right.

- (c) /dūī kārā da prōna pŪkkha rēnda /

'two houses-of guest hungry remains'.

Cf. If you run after two horses you will catch neither.'

- (d) /jāḷde kārē di bōnkri sāi /

'burning house's broom good even.'

Cf. something is better than nothing.

- (e) /lēi gēi pŪṅg dāryāe da Ūṅg /

'carried away Pung (a stream) river's excuse'.

Cf. make excuses for another never for yourself.

- (f) /sanyāre di tāk tāk lUāre di Ikko bār /

'goldsmith's tick tick ironsmith's single stroke'.

Cf. many small things are equal to one large one.'

- (g) /āpnī kāni pyāga Ūṭṭhi hāk pāni /

'(One's) own one-eyed (wife) early in the morning after rising to call up'.

Cf. blood is thicker than water.

- (h) /jīṭnā khākkhā tītṇā pākkhā /

'as many cheeks so many tunes'.

Cf. many men many words.

III / chənjòtti / 'folk-song'

The musical tilt is expressed in the folk-songs in this dialect. The native of Kangra feels proud of his or her land and its magic and wonder when he or she sings :

ni mēra kāngra dēs pyāra
 ḍŪggi ḍŪggi nēdiā tā sēlli sēlli tarā
 chē! chē! gābru tā bankiā nārā
 bōlṇa bōl pyāra
 ni mēra kāngra dēs pyāra
 cīb cīb cīb cīb cīṛua jē kārda
 Ūḍi Ūḍi Ūḍi Ūḍi ḍāḷia jē bēnda
 bōlṇa bōl pyāra
 ni mēra kāngra dēs pyāra

'Lo ! dear is my country Kangra
 (where) the streams (are) deep (and) deep then (and) the vales
 (are) green (and) green

handsome (and) handsome youngmen then (and) beautiful
 ladies

talking (is) a sweet word.

Lo ! dear is my country Kangra
 when the sparrow chatters
 (and) when it sits on a branch after making flights
 talking (is) a sweet word.

Lo ! dear is my country Kangra.'

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GRAMMATICAL ELEMENTS

VOCABULARY

EXPLANATION AND ARRANGEMENT

The grammatical elements include interjections, vocatives, postpositions, emphatics, conjunctions, negatives and adverbs.

The vocabulary has been designed to include the peculiar or quasi-peculiar words occurring in the text. It would have been easy to make this vocabulary larger on the basis of the data collected during the period of investigations but such an exhaustive list of all the words would extend far beyond the scope as it would allow little opportunity for the specialities of the spoken elements in Kāṅgarī. The consonants in clusters (pp. 49-83), vowels in sequences (pp. 84-87), prefixes (pp. 126-29), suffixes (pp. 129-63) and pronouns with their formations (pp. 159-61 and 185-91) present the grammatical elements and words in the alphabetic order with some reservation.

The order of the Devanāgarī alphabet has been followed with the concession of ṛ following r. The words separated by tones may appear at first sight to disturb the alphabetic order but it is hoped that the user will find these words listed together in a helpful sequence without any inconvenience.

ORDER OF THE DEVANĀGARĪ ALPHABET

ə a I i U u e ə o ɔ k kh g c ch j ṭ ṭh ḍ ṇ t th d n
p ph b m y r ṛ l ḷ s h

ORDER OF THE SUPRASEGMENTS

/ ~ /, / ~ / left unmarked, / /, / ' /, / ' /

The figures refer to pages.

GI the abbreviation used in the vocabulary refers to the index of the grammatical elements.

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 dādóra, father of spouse's father, 141
 dádórie, home of spouse's father's mother, 141
 dāndāḷ, tool in agriculture, 137
 dāndāssa, bark used for cleansing teeth, 138
 dālāssa, solace, 137
 dUā, medicine, 208, 217
 dUāri, window, 102
 dUāl, wall, 205
 duājju, marrying at a second time, 155
 dās, tell, 244, 248, 271
 dāj, dowry, 108, 145
 dārṇ, pomegranate tree, 72
 dālt, court, 280-81
 dāḷ, pulse, 258
 dīkkh, see, 242
 dēu, little girl, 85
 dōa, law-suit, 280-81
 dyūt, lamp stand, 55, 111, 138
 drāpphār, pimple, 136

- drāni, husband's younger brother's wife, 136
 drŪttar, son of husband's younger brother, 138
 dḷei, smearing with cow-dung and soil, 55
 dīrgsutri, dilatory, 257
 -dé-, GI
 dŪd, milk, 11, 253, 265
 dēi, curd, 11, 175
 dé, body, 176, 178
 déra, temple, 135
 déri, temple of ancestors, 135
 dódla, milky, 111, 152
 dráṭṭi, sickle, 212
 dróla, honey bee, 55, 174
 -n-, GI
 nāpān, husband's sister, 88, 112
 nāpūttar, son of husband's sister, 112
 nāpōi ~ nāpōi, husband of husband's sister, 140
 nānés, spouse's mother's mother, 139, 180
 nāsākkar, runaway, 156
 -ne, GI
 nāk, nose, 42
 nāṭua, dancer, 138
 nātth, nose-ring, 12
 nā, name, 256
 nā, GI
 nām, prize, 37, 42
 nār, pomegranate, 5
 nār, woman, 284
 nālu, rivulet, 138
 nīkka, small, 168, 206
 nīkkhar, scold, 192
 nīkṛa, youngest son, 142

- nġggaġ, swallow, 112
 nġadna, to furrow, 81
 nġ, carry, 198
 nġ, foundation stone, 88
 nġ, GI
 nindra, insomnia, 47
 nōā, new, 281
 nō, GI
 nōn, tank, 88, 229
 nōl, mongoose, 174
 nyūnder, invitation, 69
 nyōra, vegetable preparation, 95
 nētth, to run, 207, 237, 241-42, 244
 nās, to run, 254, 256, 264
 nās, nose, 37
 nērūā, dark, 154
 nērka, dark, 151
 nō, bathe, 198, 237, 238, 240
 nyāl, wait, 19, 35, 96, 164, 191, 251, 264
 nyālpa, waiting, 91, 146
 nāī, GI
 nā, GI
 nāl, bamboo, 5
 nū, son's wife, 209, 257
 pākōru pudding fried in oil, 150
 pākōlu, bread prepared in oil or ghee, 149
 pākhlō, to be unfamiliar, 192
 pagyār, wolf, 6
 pācā, back, 245
 pācā, GI
 pācūng, paw, 101, 192
 pāchōtta, last, 158

- pāchyāra, back part of a house, 59, 150
 pāṇḍa, sister's husband, 102, 116, 140
 pāṇchēṇ, recognition, 73
 pāṇchyāṇ, recognition, 101
 pāṇchyāṇ, recognise, 192
 pāṇḍor, beehive, 116, 141
 pātés, spouse's father's brother's wife, 180
 pātōrr, insane, 146, 156, 214
 pātōḷi, bit of cooked rice, 142
 pātrá, bundle of leaves, 93, 112
 pātrāṇa, barefooted, 102
 pātróra, brother of spouse's father, 141
 pātrōra, cake of vegetable leaves, 141
 pāthré, stone throwing, 112
 pāṇḍōṭṭu, carpet, 140
 pāṇḍōṛi, lower portion of a bed-stead, 102
 pānjēb, anklet, 12
 pāḷtri, a ring made of *kushā* grass, 102
 -pār, GI
 pārāḷ, chaff, 137
 pārēttar, water carrier, 140
 pārēssi, neighbour, 280-81
 pālēkkha, deception, 148
 pāṣḷat, mutter in sleep, 66
 par, GI
 parē, GI
 passē, GI
 pīcchē, GI
 pīchia, GI
 pīchua, GI
 prātītṭhya, honour, consecration, 103
 prāthānni, a month in which rituals are not performed, 103

- prənt, GI
- prant, GI
- prokkba, GI
- pəkṛén, smell of burning cloth, 119
- pākhla, stranger, 63
- pācch, cut, 28
- pāṭ, thigh, 28
- pāṭṭu, blanket, 12
- pāttəṇ, ferry, 4
- pāṭlu, plate made of leaves, 135, 205
- pār, GI
- pālli, hut, 175
- pāk, pus, 27
- pāṇi, water, 234, 261, 280-81
- pāru, earthen pot, 241
- pāṭṭh, back (of body), 234
- pūkka, kiss, 27
- pūcch, to ask, 272, 280
- pūṭṭha, reversed, 170, 214, 219
- pūttar, son, 254, 257
- pūj, reach, 268
- pēṇṭh, line in a feast, 15, 73
- pār, foot, 258
- pcēcra, naughty, 49, 58
- ptōa, sole of shoe, 49
- pyūla, yellow, 38, 39
- prāsthān, omenological material despatched before journey,
65, 101
- prāṇa, old, 253
- prōl, gate, 151
- plātha, sitting on buttocks, 50
- pḷēs, coil, 50

- pāi, GI
 pāt, cooked rice, 11, 96, 200, 223, 234, 244, 246, 251, 258
 pāla, GI
 -pāḷē, GI
 -pāl, GI
 pān, break, 241
 pāla, good, 252
 pālea, 260
 pā, rate, 37, 268
 pāu, brother, 37, 85, 168, 178, 205 07, 209, 211, 217, 226, 240, 253
 256, 260, 262-63, 271
 pākḥ, tune, 283
 pāg, fortune, 264
 pāṇja, sister's son, 109
 pān, small change for money, 43
 pŪkkhər, hungry, 153
 pŪj, burn, 241
 pŪbbəḷ, ash, 136
 pū, chaff, 47
 pēch, tear, 191
 pēṛa, *Terminalia balerica*, 5
 pēṇ, sister, 168, 205
 pyāg, morning, 91, 173, 271, 283
 pyāgsar, morning, 135
 prò, stand where water is provided, 112, 149
 pròṭṭu, load, 149
 prōjji, brother's wife, 142
 pādra, level, 253
 pālda, preparation of curd, grams etc. 35, 76, 258
 prā, GI
 prālla, upsided, 111
 prāllē, GI

- prí, serve meals, 191
 prittar, one who serves meal in a marriage, 146
 próna, guest, 166, 226, 283
 prót, priest, 242
 prór, present of sweets at the time of marriage, 92, 149
 phəṛākka, piece of cloth, 114, 147
 phəglu, bamboo, 5, 135
 phān, beat, 254, 256, 271
 phāū, kiss, 206
 phIt, GI
 phIri, GI
 phēsla, decision, 273, 276, 280-81
 phálru, diaper, 75
 bəkkhē, GI
 bəkki, GI
 bəger, GI
 bəjUrg, ancestor, elder, 253
 bəjēr, to make one play, 162
 bəjōna, to appear, expect, 96
 bəjrēn, painter, (F.), 118, 139
 bəṭāra, mason, 136
 bəṭèra, much, 102, 118, 156
 bərabər, GI
 -bəl, GI
 -bəla, GI
 bəsá, trust, 216
 bəsúṭṭi, *Adhatoda vasica*, 5
 bəsōa, first day of *Vaishakha* month, 149
 -bal, GI
 -baI-, GI
 -bastē, GI

- bIc, GI
 bIcīē, GI
 bIccē, GI
 bĪna, GI
 bUāi, father's sister's spouse, 86, 136
 bUaI, boil, 18
 bāg, flow, 245
 bājri, hail, 60
 bātṭa, exchanged betrothal, 15 ; stone, 27 ; weight, barter, 55
 bāḍḍa, big, 260, 273
 bāt, path, 29, 205
 bāndri, mat of straw, 82, 135
 bāb, father, 254, 268
 bābru, fried cake, 283
 bārkhā, rain, 18, 247-48, 266-67
 bārtan, present, dealing, 146, 217
 bārtesri, occupation of priest, 219
 bōrni, present of cloth, 146
 bōr, basket maker, 5, 71
 bāra, very, 253-54, 258, 263, 267, 271-73, 275, 277, 280
 bāl, strength, 273, 280
 bāla, girder, 38
 bār, time, a week-day, 253
 bār, stroke, 283
 bārobar, GI
 bār, fence, 232
 bārch, fence, 72
 bānu, fence, 133
 bālu, nose-ring, 12, 230
 bās, smell, 36
 bĪṭṭi, girl, 19, 84, 95, 205, 208, 211, 216, 219, 239, 258, 260, 266
 bĪnna, matting, 5

- bīṛa, GI
bī, GI
bŪjka, bundle, 60
bŪṭṇa, unguent, 56
bū, father's sister, 85, 172, 177, 180, 217
bēṭhk, parlour, 258
bēṭhku, small carpet, 145
bō, GI
bōddar, peahen, 6
bōbbo, sister, 95, 177, 181, 256
bōṛi, tank, 260
bḷētra, stupid, 52
bṣō, rest, 51
bājia, master, 96, 260
bād, harvest, 247
bād, increase, 273, 278
bār, to rain, 240
bāri, year, 18, 172, 206, 254, 269
bārl, cross-beam, 71
bāld, ox, 76, 174, 205, 234, 256
bā, arm, 258
bā, GI
bājji, GI
bād, GI
bāddu, extra, 163
bābba, clean, 264
bār, GI
bārīē, GI
bārē, GI
bārka, outsided, 158
bŪjru, painter, 118
bŪnla, downsided, 69

bél, time, 246

bé, sit, 284

bénj, bamboo, 5

bénd, cultivated area, 11

bónkri, broom, 283

bór, upper storey of house, 131

byá, marriage, 83, 92, 236

byáttar, marriage celebrator, 146

məkōṛi, ant, 102

məklōa, ceremony of the second entrance of the bride, 102

məkhir, honey, 173

mətēi, stepmother, 138

mənēi, ceremony in a marriage, 148

mərgābbi, wild duck, 6

məṛēk, to twist, 192

məlēr, to make dirty, 162

məlēr, son of mother's brother, 139

məlēṛa, dough, 149

məlóra, brother of spouse's mother, 141

məlórie, home of spouse's mother, 141

məlés, wife of spouse's mother's brother, 139

məsāpphər, traveller, 273, 275-76, 278-79

məsēr, son of mother's sister, 139

-mara, GI

mUaḷ, abuse, 237-38, 246, 272

māgr, bamboo, 5, 64

mājt, support, 266

māṭṭha, slow, 29, 55, 92, 205

māṇ, maund, 268

māt, GI

māta, much, 36, 113, 115, 201, 206, 213, 217, 219, 234, 241, 246, 255, 253, 273, 280, 283

- mätu, GI
 mēttha, forehead, 29
 mēnja, cot, 36, 42, 68
 mā, mother, 256, 266-67, 270, 272,
 mānda, weak, 43, 68
 mām̐ma, mother's brother, 266-67
 māṛa, bad, 176-77, 181
 māl̐k, owner, 280-81
 māḷs, shampoo, 234
 mīṭk, wink, 55, 144
 mītt̐r, friend, 256-57
 mīrg, panther, 6
 mīnki, frog (F.), 69
 mīri, starting first in a game, 44
 mUkk̐r, to deny, 103, 107
 mUc̐a, toothless, 58
 mUṇḍu, boy, 172, 197, 201, 206-08, 210, 212, 218, 222, 232, 240,
 245, 256, 258-60, 271
 mUnnu, babe, 178, 247
 mUḷ, cost, 280
 mUšk̐l, difficulty, 280
 mUṣṇa, to steal, 95, 207
 mūt̐t̐rna, to urinate, 90, 93
 mūsa, rat, 241, 254
 mt̐ēi, step mother, 66
 mn̐ēi, a ceremony before marriage, 67
 myāl, burning wood, 68
 mḍ̐ḷs, dunghill, 77
 mīnna, month, 255
 mēssa, always, 244
 mēs, water-buffalo, 177, 179
 mk̐aṇ, mourning, 67

- mlār, ardent desire, 68
 mǎṇḍaḷ, millet, 11
 mǎdra, preparation of grams, ghee, curd etc., 35, 258
 mǎngru, earthen pot, 132
 māk, death-rite after one month, 129
 mǎṇu, man, 166, 172, 178, 205-07, 216, 223, 226-27, 246, 254, 266, 280
 mǎ, face, 255, 269
 mǎndār, turn down, 192
 mǎria, in front, 159, 233
 mǎrē, GI
 mǎrla, first one, 158
 mǎra, simple, (not sour), 258
 mǎsēs, sister of spouse's mother, 67
 yā, GI
 yāna, child, 83
 yǎnd, cold, 175
 rǎkhāl, kept wife, 15, 149
 rǎkhórr, kept wife, 15
 rǎjāṇna, demurrage, 281
 rǎpēia, rupee, 268, 281
 rǎsākkār, disgusted, 156
 rUaḷua, noise, 103
 reddē, GI
 rājindā, agreement, 281
 rājja, king, 260, 263
 rār, pelt, 218
 rĪcch, bear, 6
 rŪkkh, tree, 223, 226, 229, 231, 234, 253, 260, 262
 rāṇṭa, preparation of sour vegetable, 35, 258
 rōṅg, beans, 11
 ràn, surprised, 242

- rŪṛ, to be washed away, 226
 ləkōja, niche, 149
 ləkḥōtri, marriage programme, 63, 112
 lətakkaṛ, one who kicks with feet, 156
 ləphōṭṭi, quilt, 140
 ləmká, bat, 48, 67, 174, 233
 lUār, ironsmith, 283
 ləggər, used, 156
 ləbṛu, lip, 283
 lāmb, wisp of grass, 66
 lamma, long, 265
 lāj, treatment, 266
 lām, battle, 88
 lāri, wife, 220, 231, 259
 lāl, slavia, 42
 litru, louse, 53
 limbṛa, sluggish, 82
 lUk, hide, 241
 lUgri, gruel, 64
 lē, tune, 45
 lērthi, lying in woman, 70
 lō, light, 46
 lōk, people, 174, 210, 234, 241-42, 245, 266
 lōtki, pot for drinking, 130
 lyār, newly calved, 75
 lā, landslip, 32
 lól, rebuke, 41
 lári, green courtyard, 10
 lŪkri, singing girl, 62
 ló, descend, 93, 198, 242
 lóu, blood, 85
 lókka, young, 205-06, 210, 214, 223

- sākinnī, fond, 154
 sākḥṇōtru, apprentice, 112, 141
 sācyāra, an upright person, 58
 sāṇe, GI
 sādāṅgi, practice of a mendicant 110, 118, 136
 sānglōa, tapeworm, 102
 sāṇjyāllu, dinner, 11, 118, 134
 sānyār, goldsmith, 283
 sāprētṭi, rocky place, 139
 sāprēl, sandy, 154
 sābēl, good time, 127
 sāmet, GI
 sāṛén, rottenness, 149
 sāṛénni, dirty, 157
 sālyā, wife of wife's brother, 77, 134
 satthē, GI
 sUa, GI
 sUādla, tasty, 254
 sUān, taunt, obligation, 47
 sUār, Monday, rider, 101
 sUāru, small vegetable garden, 11
 sUāl, sum, 244
 sUāl, moss, 229
 sōggi, GI
 sāgō, GI
 sāgn, omen, betrothal gift, 64
 sājja, pertaining to right side, 28, 181, 233, 258
 sājra, fresh, 99
 sāṭ, throw, 242
 sād, to call, 216, 221, 241
 sādda, call, 36

- sāṅk, gesture, 69
 sāṅgəḷ, chain, 136, 175
 sāppəṛ, rock, 101
 sāma, time, 88
 sārasər, GI
 sārṇ, snake, 242
 sārṅk, road, 253
 sās, spouse's mother, 171, 177, 180
 sāi, advance money, 89, 101
 sakh, relation, 40, 114
 sakhla, relative, 99
 sān, easy, 280
 sāpha, turban, 12, 38, 39
 sāsṇu, rent free gift to an individual, 66
 sĪj, to be soaked, 213
 sĪjja, wet, 45
 sĪng, horn, 42
 sĪmməḷ, *Bombox malabaricum*, a cotton tree, 5
 sĪlma, cinema, 270
 sĪst, target, 65
 sit, cold, 175
 sĪnddi, freely, 159
 sUkkhəṇ, prayer, 136
 sUkhəṇa, prayer to get something, 99
 sUttəṇ, long trousers, 12
 sUthṇu, trousers, 12, 54
 sUnna, gold, 88, 173
 sUpna, dream, 99
 sŪra, wine, 12
 sŪrg, heaven, 39, 70
 sŭnk, breathing heavily, 42

- sūrj, Sun, 266-67, 273-74, 279-80
 sē, shave, 30, 180
 sēnk, gesture, 48
 sēnca, model, impression, 42, 68
 sēr, walk, 267
 sēlla, green, 284
 sēl, slate, 6
 sōnk, millet, 11
 skUttar, son of cowife, 111, 138
 sgōt, cake made from fine wheaten flour, 65
 stāgla, a bad omen, 65
 stābbi, soon, GI
 sphāni, liquor made from anis seed, 64
 sbāb, belongings, 64
 syāna, prudent, 103, 263, 265-66
 syānp, maturity, old age, 143
 syal, winter, 66
 sàñ, obligation, 37, 43
 syārpaṇa, cleverness, 143
 srēṇa, pillow, 111, 140
 sāi, GI
 sá, breath, merchant, 30
 -sái, GI
 sán, bull, 43
 sámṇia, GI
 sámṇē, GI
 sīrk, husk, 72
 sím, rheum, 43
 -sŪd-, GI
 sú, investigation, 30, 130
 séru, hare, 6, 174
 sóṭṭha, stick, 205

- sóra, spouse's father, 93
 sórie, spouse's parents, 138
 snéa, message, 66
 smút, auspicious time in a marriage, 65
 -həṭ-, GI
 hāk, call, 246, 271, 283
 hēcchi, clear, 271
 hāt, shop, 175, 231, 260, 270
 hṭṭi, condiment container, 56
 hṇḍ, go on foot, 19
 hāphṇa, to breathe heavily, 51
 hṛṛ, *Terminalia chebula*, 5
 hāla, GI
 hālo, GI
 hālli, GI
 hāl̥k, hydrophobia, 76, 207
 hā, GI
 hīrn, deer, 6
 hīllṇ, earthquake, 146
 bī, GI
 hi, GI
 hUṇ, now, 95, 218, 238, 280-81
 hUṇka, recent, 158
 hŪms, warmth, 135
 hū, GI
 hūṭla, stammerer, 99
 hēṭb, down, 245
 hēṭhla, belonging to downside, 158
 hē, GI
 hōa, wind, 273-74, 277-79
 hōni, fate, 145
 hōr, GI
 hōrā, GI
 hōrti, GI
 hōl, shock, 30, 36
 hōlē, GI

ENGLISH-KĀNGARĪ

ABBREVIATIONS : b.=brother ; d.=daughter ; e.=elder ;
f.=father ; h.=husband ; m.=mother ; s.=son ; si.=sister ;
w.=wife ; y.=younger.

References to pages have been given in Kāngarī-English
vocabulary pp. 294-323.

EXAMPLE :

admit (the bride), *āndrēr*

see (p. 294)

āndrērna, to admit the bride ceremonially, 102 (page of the book).

abuse, <i>mUāl</i>	back, <i>pəcǎ</i>
actor, <i>ḍāṇḍu</i>	back (of body), <i>pĪtṭh</i>
advance (money), <i>sāi</i>	bad, <i>māra</i>
agreement, <i>rājinōā</i>	ball, <i>khĪddu</i>
alone, <i>kĪlla</i>	bamboo, <i>bēnj</i>
always, <i>mēssa</i>	barefoot, <i>pātrāna</i>
ambition, <i>cā</i>	barking deer, <i>kākkar</i>
anger, <i>jāl̄ni</i>	barley, <i>jō</i>
anklet, <i>pānjēb</i>	barter, <i>bātṭa</i>
ant, <i>mākōri</i>	basket maker, <i>bārṭ</i>
apprentice, <i>sākhṇōtru</i>	bat, <i>lāmkā</i>
arm, <i>bā</i>	bathe, <i>nō</i>
ascend, <i>kō</i>	battle, <i>lām</i>
ash, <i>pŪbbəl</i>	beam, <i>ḍāb</i>
ask, <i>pŪcch</i>	bean, <i>kīū</i>
attempt, <i>jētn</i>	bear, <i>rĪcch</i>
babe, <i>mUnnu</i>	beat, <i>phān</i>
bachelor, <i>kUāra</i>	beehive, <i>pāṇḍor</i>

belongings, sbāb	cattle-shed, górn, ōri
betrothal, kərmāi	chaff, pù
betrothal (exchanged), bātṭa	chaff (of rice), parāl
big, bāḍḍa	chain, sāngəḷ
bitter, kōṛa	charcoal, garu
black, kaḷa	cheek, khākh
blanket, pātṭu	child, jagt
blood, lóu	citron, cəngōtra
blow, kəssa	clay (yellow), gájni
blunt, khŪṇḍa	clean, bábbā
body, dé	clear, hāccha
boil, bUaḷ	climb, gó
boy, mUṇḍu	cloak, cōḷa
break, pən	coil, plēs
breakfast, dətyāllu	cold, sit
breath, sá	collect, kəṭhōr
breathe, hāphṇa	come, ʒ
bridegroom's party, jəṇēt	complaint, əlámma
broom, bónkri	condiment container, hātṭri
brother, pàu	consolation, trās
brother's w., pròjji	copper pot, tāmēṛa
bull, sán	corner, kūṇ
bundle, bŪjka	cost, mŪl
burn, pŪj	cot, mēnja
butter milk, chá	cotton tree, sīmməḷ
call, sād	cough, kháng
call (Sub.), hāk	court, dālt
camp-fire, kyānna	cover, ṭək
canal, kŪl	cow, gā
cane, chímk	cowherd, gŪāḷu
carpenter, tərkhāṇ	cow-urine, gúntər
carry, ṇl	co-wife's son, skŪttər

cross-beam, b̄arl	dream, sŪpna
crow, kō	drum, t̄amk
cucumber, kākri	dumb, jām̄ba
cultivated (land), b̄énd	dunghill, m̄əls
curb, kr̄or̄	ear, k̄ən
curd, d̄ēī	earthen jar, ōlī
cut, p̄ēcch	earthquake, h̄illāṇ
dancer, n̄ātua	easy, s̄ān
dark, n̄ērŪā	embrace, j̄əpphi
daughter, ti	entry (ceremonial), āndron
daughter (married), tyān	envy, j̄ālb
daughter's d., tyōtri	excuse, Ūng
daughter's s., tyōtru	extra, b̄āddu
daughter's spouse, jUāi	face, m̄ū
dawn, t̄ārka	fast (colour), ḡūra
deaf, t̄ōṇa	fate, h̄ōṇi
death, k̄al	father, b̄āb
death anniversary, fourth, c̄abārkh	father's e. b., tāu
deep, d̄Ūgga	father's si., b̄u
deer, h̄īrn	father's si. spouse, bUāi
deny, m̄Ūkkār	father's y. b., c̄acca
descend, l̄ó	fathom, th̄ó
desire, ḡō	fatigue, kh̄ējja
diaper, ph̄ál̄ru	feast, t̄ām
difficult, ōkkha	fence, b̄ār, b̄ār̄ch
dilatory, d̄ir̄gsutri	ferry, p̄ātt̄an
dinner, s̄anjyallu	fever, r̄āp
dip, j̄Ūmmi	field, kh̄ētt̄ar
dough, m̄alēṛa	finger, ōnglī
down, h̄ēth	flatten, c̄āṇḍ
down (side), b̄Ūnla	flow, b̄āg
dowry, d̄āj	folk-song, ch̄anjōt̄ti

fond, sākinni
 forehead, māttha
 fortune, pàg
 foundation, nī
 free (of cost), sinddi
 fresh, sājra
 friend, mīttar
 frog, mīnk
 frown, krùng
 furrow, nīnd
 gate, prōl
 gesture, sānk
 ginger, ādra
 girder, bāla
 girl, blītti, kŪri
 glut, tūsra
 go (on foot), hāṇḍ
 goitre, gīllar
 gold, sUnna
 goldsmith, sānyār
 good, khāra
 grass, kà
 green, sēlla
 gruel, lŪgri
 guest, prōṇa
 hail, bājri
 hailstone, ān
 hair-tonsering, jāmālu
 hallow, dŪḍ
 handle, thyà
 handsome, chēl
 hard, kraṇa

hare, sēru
 harvest, bād
 haste, kālī
 haul, tərùng
 hawk, Il
 head ornament, cāk
 heart, jī
 hearth, cŪl
 heat, tō
 heaven, sŪrg
 hem, trŪpka
 hide, lŪk
 home, kār
 honey, mākhir
 honey-bee, drōla
 horn, sīng
 host (in sacrifice), jījman
 hot, tātta
 hungry, pŪkkhar
 husband's e. b. s., jəṭhŪttar
 husband's e. b. w., jəṭhāṇi
 husband's si., nānān
 husband's si. h., nāṇḍōi
 husband's si. s., nāṇuttar
 husband's y. b. s., drŪttar
 husband's y. b. w., drāṇi
 husk, sīrk
 hut, pālli
 hydrophobia, hāl̥k
 idleness, āl̥kh
 ill, kāsri
 illusion, chəḷēḍḍa

increase, bōd	liver, kālja
insane, patòrṛ	lizard, gó
insect, jīju	load, pròṭṭu
insomnia, nīndra	loft, tāllar
investigation, sú	lofty, ucca
invitation, nyūndar	long, lēm̐ma
ironsmith, IUār	louse, litṛu
itch, khŪrk	lousy, jūṇṭal
jealousy, jalór	maize, chālli
jump, ṭāp	maize (crop), chālētṭa
jump (Sub.), chĪttu	man, māṇu
kernel, gĪdda	mango, āmb
kiln (of potter), ōa	marriage, byá
king, rājja	marriage party man, jəṇēttar
kins-man, krèt	married (twice), duàjjū
kiss, phāṇ	mason, bəṭára
ladyfinger, kəṇḍòli	masonry (platform), ṭyāḷa
lamb, chēllu	master, bājja
lamp-stand, dyūt	matter, gāl
landslip, là	matting, bĪnna
last, pəchēṭṭa	maturity, syānp
lavish, dUāu	medicine, dUa
law-suit, dōa	merchant, sá
left (side), khābba	message, snéa
leg, jāng	milk, dŪd
leprosy, kór	milk pot, dādūnnu
less, kət	milky, dódla
level, pādrā	millet, māṇḍal
lift, cŪk	misplace, gUac
light, lō	mix, ōl
line (in feast), pēṇṭh	model, sēnca
lip, lābṛu	Monday, suār

mongoose, nōl	old (of age), jābra
month, minna	omen, sēgn
moonlight, cānpi	omen (bad), stagla
morning, pyàg	open, Ūggəṛ
morsel, grá	outsided, bárka
moss, sUāl	oversight, tēpla
mother, āmma, mā	ox, bāld
mother's b., mām̐ma	palm, thyāli
mother's b. s., mālēr	panther, mīrg
mother's si. s., māsēr	partridge, tītṭar
mourning, mkāṇ	pastry-board, cākḷa
much, bātēra	path, bāt
mud (for mortar), gāra	path (between fences), gōr
mutter (in sleep), pāsḷat	pathway (of stones), kUāl
name, nā	paw, pācūṅg
natal, jāmpu	peahen, bōddər
naughty, pcēcra	pebel, gītṭi
neck, kyāṛi	pellet bow, galēl
neighbour, pāṛēssi	pelt, rār
new, nōā	people, lōk
niche, lākōḷa	pilgrimage, jātra
noise, rUāḷua	pillow, srēṇa
nose, nāk	pimple, drāpphəṛ
nose-ring, nātth, baḷu	pit, gtóllu
nose-ring (small), kōkka	plate, tāsk
now, hŪṇ	pocket, khīssa
obligation, sUan	pomegranate, nār
ochre, gōḷua	pomegranate (tree), dārṇ
offering, cāṛtar	pond, aḷ
oil-pot, tēlāru	pounce, cāpph
old, prāṇa	prayer, sŪkkhəṇ

pride, gmàn	rider, sUār
priest, prót	right (side), sējja
prize, nām	ripe (partially), dīdra
proverb, khUāṇa	rivulet, khād
prudent, syāṇa	rock, sāppər
pull, trīṛ	rocky, sāprētṭi
pulse, dāl	roof, chān
pupil, cēlla	roof (outer), chāppər
pus, pāk	room (inner), ōbri
quarrelsome, kəjai	room (living), Uān
quick, tōla	root, tāk
rain, bār	rope (of grass), chUbbā
rain (Sub.), bārkhā	rope (round the neck of a pot), ōlia
rat, mūsa	rottenness, sāṛēn
rate, pā	ruin, jUār
reach, pūj	run, nās, nētṭh
rebuke, lāl	run (Sub.), khīt
recent, hUṇka	runaway, nāsakkər
recognise, pəṇchyān	rustic, gUār
redbrown, gērūā	sandy, sāprēl
relation, sākḥ	scold, nīkṭhər
relative, sākhlā	search, tōp
relative (by marriage), kUṛm	see, dīkkḥ
remove, kōd	seldom, kādi
rest, bsō	send, kəl
reverse, pUṭṭha	serve (meals), pri
rheum, sīm	set (of the sun), kārō
rice, cōl	shadow, chōrua, tōr
rice (cooked), pāt	shave, sē
rice (unbroken grain), ācht	shirt, cəggū
rice bread, ēnkū	shock, hōl
rice flour, cītṭha	shop, hāt

sickle, dráttí	spell, þpra
silent, cUppar	spouse's f., sóra
singing-girl, lÚkri	spouse's f. b., þatróra
sister, böbbo, þēn	spouse's f. b. w., þatés
sister's h., pāṇḍa	spouse's f. f., dādóra
sister's s., pāṇja	spouse's f. m., dādés
sit, bé	spouse's f. m. home, dádórie
skirt, kǎgri	spouse's m., sās
skull-cap, tǒppu	spouse's m. b. w., mālés
sky, āmbar	spouse's m. m., nānēs
slate, sēl	spouse's m. si., msés
slavia, lal	spouse's parents, sórie
slippery, cīphla	spread (a cot), dá
sloth, ol	stammerer, hūtja
slow, mātṭha	stand, khārō
sluggish, limbṛa	steal, mŪs
small, nĴkka	step, gē
smell, bās	step mother, mtēi
smell (of burning cloth), kəprén	stick, sōtṭha
smell (of rawness), kacénd	stone, bāṭṭa
smell (of sourness), khātén	stone (throw), þathré
snake, sārþ	stranger, pākhla
snore, kŪrri	street, gāli
soil, cĴk	strong, tāgra
solace, dālassa	struggle, kŪĴk
sometimes, káli	stupid, blētra
son, pŪttar	sum, sŪal
son's w., nŭ	Sun, surj
sourness, tārasyāi	Sunday, tŪar
sparrow, cĴru	swallow, nĴggəl
speak, glā	take off, tŪar
speaking (with a twang), gŪnna	talkative, gəlābbār

tank, nōŋ, təlā,	tuber (like potato), kəndyàli
tap, təkōr	tune, pàkh
tapeworm, səŋlóa	turban, sāpha
target, sīst	turn down (liquid), múnðər
tasty, sŪadla	twist, mərək
taunt, sŪan	unguent, bŪtna
tea, cá	up-sided, prálla
tear, pèch	urchin, chóru
tell, dās	used, ləggər
temple (of ancestors), déri	vegetable (cooked), nyōra
thief (in family), kəstər	veil, cùnd
thigh, pāt	verandah, ātli
throw, sāt	very, bāra
thumb, guttha	village, grā
tickle, gItlu	vomit, gŪch
tighten, kŪt	voracious, khau
tile, khəprəl	wait, nyəl
timber (floated), kəl	wall, kənd
time, səma	wall (outer), dŪal
timid, dṛakkəl	wall (of stone), dānga
tipcat, dāṇḍkilli	walnut, khōr
tire, āk	wardrobe, killi
tobacco, tmākkū	warmness, hŪms
today, āj	wash away, rŪr
tooth brush (of bark), dəndāssa	wasp, tərmōri
toothless, mŪcla	watchman, krōnk
toss, Ūdkā	water, pāni
treatment, lāj	water-buffalo, mēs
tree, rŪkkh	water-fall, chrùru
trimming, chāchra	water-mill, krāt
trousers, sŪthnu	water-mill owner, krātṭi
trust, basá	weak, mānda

weapon, thjār
 wedding-ring, gutṭhi
 well, khú
 wet, sĪjja
 wheat, kōṅk
 white, cĪṭṭa
 wife, lāri
 wife's b. w., saḷyā
 wind, hōa
 window, cārna
 wine, sŪra
 wink, mĪṭk
 winter, syāḷ, yūnd

wish, cá
 wisp (of grass), lāmb
 witness, gUái
 wolf, pāgyār
 woman, jāṇās
 wool, Ūn
 work, kām
 wrestle, kŪḷ
 wrestling, chĪnj
 year, bāri
 yellow, pyūḷa
 young, lókka
 young man, gābru

TIME DENOTATA

bēlla, time
 kārī, 24 minutes
 chīṇ, moment, 4 minutes
 pāl, moment = $\frac{1}{80}$ kārī
 tārka, dawn
 pyāg, morning
 hēcchi pyāg, Sunrise
 dāpār, noon
 khāre dāpār, midday in summer
 trīyye pēr, afternoon
 sānj, evening
 tārkaḷā, twilight
 rāt, night
 trātta, midnight
 dūggirat, pitch-dark night
 tyāra, day
 tītth, lunar day
 bār, day of the week
 sUār, Monday
 māngal, Tuesday
 bŪd, Wednesday
 prēbt, Thursday
 sŪkkar, Friday
 sālccār, Saturday
 tUār, Sunday
 pākkh, fortnight
 minna, month
 sāgrānd, first day of month
 bái, second day of month

taryāi, third day of month
 cUāi, fourth day of month
 māsānt, last day of month
 cāttar, mid March to mid April
 ~ṭōlrūāda minna, month of songs
 (lit. of tambourines)
 bāsākh, April-May
 jēth, May-June
 ~bādda minna, long month
 hār, June-July
 sōṇ, July-August
 ~lāra minna, green month
 pādrū, August-September
 ~kāla minna, black month
 sūj, September-October
 ~sērida minna
 kātti, October-November
 māgēr, November-December
 pó, December-January
 mág, January-February
 phāggan, February-March
 rīt, season
 bāsānt, spring
 tōndi, summer
 bārsāt, the rains
 syāl~yūnd, winter
 bāri, year
 sāmmat, year of the Vikrama era
 jŪg, age of the world.

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